Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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edited by

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To our own Teachers and Mentors,
who trained us with care,
C. Warren Hollister and Gerard Caspary

And to our Shining Example,
Sir Richard Southern

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Preface

This book is rooted in a session presented at the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo in Spring 2001, 'Teaching and Learning in Northern France, 1000 to 1200', to which its chair and our audience reacted with such enthusiasm that we there and then determined to base a collection of essays upon it. The original session focused on Lanfranc of Bec, his student Anselm, Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent, and a more general paper on scholastic teaching and learning. Bruce Brasington, the session chair, immediately responded with the information that Bec student Ivo of Chartres, the illustrious canon lawyer, had taught some interesting subjects as well, and then many other scholars who were investigating teaching and learning soon joined their contributions to our little garden. We soon found among our colleagues, friends, and students many scholars currently researching monastic teachers, episcopal teachers, students, and the discipline of learning from the Carolingian era to the eve of the foundation of universities, the era on which this collection focuses.

We wish to thank the many friends and colleagues who have helped us along the way, in particular our own mentors and teachers, to whom we dedicate this book: C. Warren Hollister, from whose 'garden' at the University of California, Santa Barbara, one of us emerged to teach at the University of Houston, where Sally N. Vaughn and Warren Hollister joined together to found The Charles Homer Haskins Society and hold its first fifteen annual International Conferences at the University of Houston to create a second 'garden' in which Anglo-Saxon and Norman studies flourished and continue to flourish at successive Haskins Conferences elsewhere; and Gerard E. Caspary, from whose brilliant teaching and patient guidance at the University of California, Berkeley, many of the contributors to this volume emerged. The example who shaped and inspired

both of us in many diverse and important ways, Sir Richard Southern, also merits both our thanks and our dedication for this volume. Sally N. Vaughn is grateful to the History Department of the University of Houston for the support and release time necessary to complete this volume, much financial support over the years to attend crucial conferences, and particularly for the support of its chair Joe Pratt and Dean John Antel. Jay Rubenstein would like to extend similar gratitude to the History Department and to the Institute for Medieval Studies, both at the University of New Mexico, for generous support during the writing of this volume. The librarians at the University of Houston (particularly Claire Fowler), at Rice University (particularly Debra Bailey and John Hunter), at the University of Southern California Hoose Library of Philosophy, and at the University of New Mexico, who helped track down many obscure references, also deserve our thanks. Joseph Lane in particular, along with the entire Interlibrary Loan staff, at the University of New Mexico, performed heroically during the final stages of this volume's revisions. Thanks also are owed to Kim A. B. Klimek of the University of New Mexico History Department, who provided invaluable assistance with the preparation of this manuscript; and to Michael Gelting of the Danish National Archives, who kindly read and corrected the final version of the manuscript, saving us from many errors. The volume could not have been brought to a successful conclusion without the additional assistance provided by three of our contributors: Jason Glenn, William North, and John Ott. Abundant thanks are also due to Joanna Huntington and Deborah A. Oosterhouse, who oversaw the final preparations of this manuscript. Any remaining infelicities are our own responsibility. Finally, we wish to thank all the contributors to this volume for the hard work, diligence, and creativity with which they have filled their essays.

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William L. North is a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley. He is an Assistant Professor at Carleton College and has written numerous articles and papers on the biblical scholar Bruno of Segni and on the culture of the papal curia more generally at the time of the Investiture Contest. He is now preparing an edition of the complete works of Richard of Préaux and a book intended to study the connections between biblical exegesis and the culture of the Gregorian Reform.

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Sally N. Vaughn is Professor of History at the University of Houston. She is the author of numerous articles on Anselm as well as the books *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State*; *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent*; and *St Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women*. She is currently working on a book on the students and teachers of Bec.

Priscilla D. Watkins is a graduate of the University of Houston. Her dissertation is titled 'Caen and the Expansion of Ducal Power in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: The Formation of an Urban Community', which was awarded 'distinction'. This is her first published article.

Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. by the Société des Bollandistes, 2 vols, and supplement. Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1898–1901.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SS	Scriptores
SSRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
SSRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
OV	Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. OMT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80. (Orderic will be cited here according to Chibnall's volume numbers.)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina,* ed. by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1841–64.
RRAN	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acts of William I, 1066–1087,* ed. by David Bates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
RS	Rolls Series

Schmitt	Anselm, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. by F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. Seckau: Longman, 1946–61.
VA	Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by R. W. Southern. OMT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962; repr., 1972.

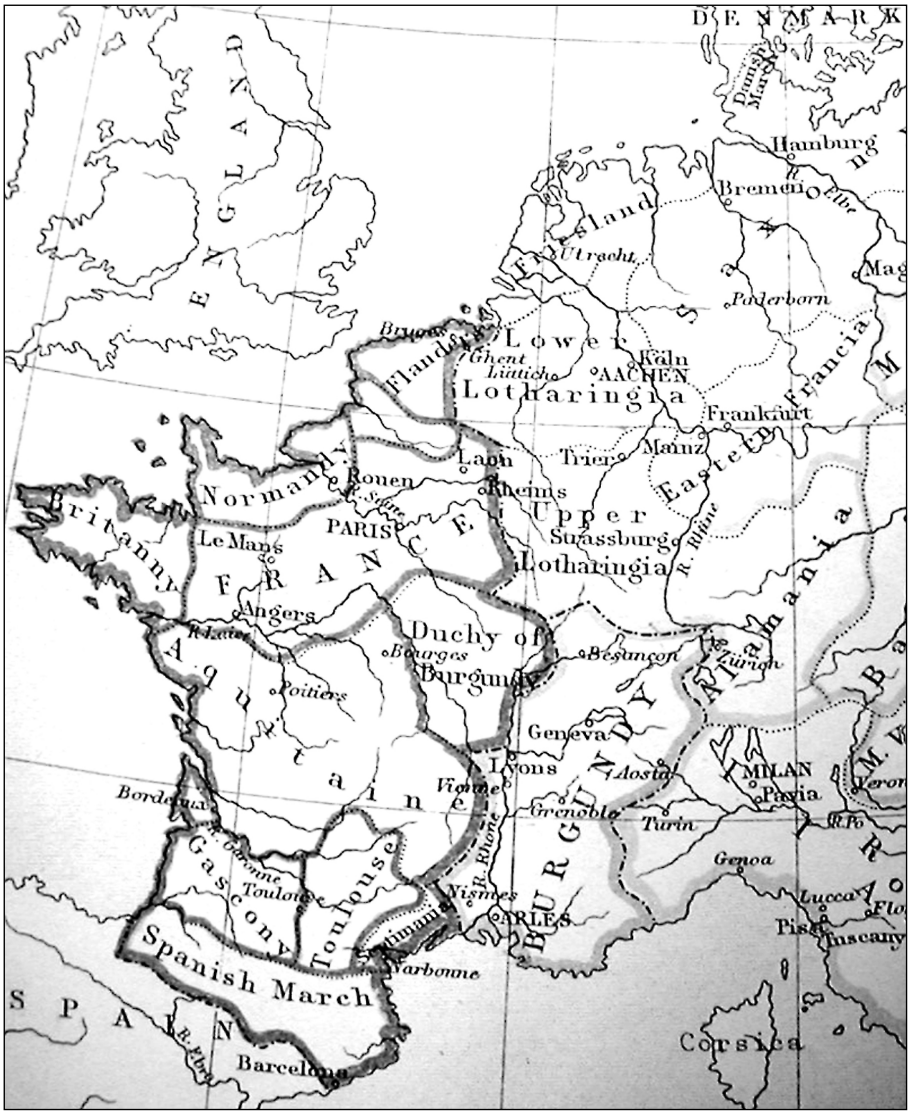


Figure 1. Map of Northern Europe, *c.* 1000–1200,
from E. A. Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, 2 vols,
2nd edn (London: Longman, 1882), II, p. xxi.

Introduction: Teaching and Learning from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries

Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein

Cathedral schools and the incipient universities have received much attention from medieval historians, the period of monastic learning which preceded them less so. Thinkers such as St Anselm and his teacher Lanfranc are better known for their piety and theology than for their work as teachers. Although monastic schools and teaching are not without recognition, few modern scholars have stopped to ask what was taught there, how it was taught and by whom, and what the impact of this teaching would be for Europe during the remainder of the Middle Ages. The essays that follow will attempt to answer these questions. This introduction will set the stage for the essays, first by looking at the modern literature on monasteries and its treatment of the schools, especially the literature on Lanfranc, Anselm, and their students, and then by describing the essays in this collection, which together bring to light a new and remarkably coherent intellectual narrative. We will finally conclude with a few remarks about how this particular period of intellectual endeavour came to an end and what its place might be in the general history of European thought.

The study of monastic schools has largely been lost in scholars' efforts to present a picture of monastic life as a whole. The monastic school usually receives mention as only a part of the monastery, and sometimes a small part at that. For example, C. H. Lawrence's standard work on medieval monasticism barely mentions schools.[1] Brian Patrick McGuire's overview of monastic life similarly gives educational methods scant attention and suggests rather that

[1] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1984).

friendship was the typical focus of an abbey.[2] Scholars such as Constance Bouchard and Barbara Rosenwein stress either spirituality or economics, in the case of the Cistercians,[3] or ritual, order, and lawfulness, in the case of Cluny.[4] The Cluniacs and the Cistercians, moreover, usually act as monastic 'norms', especially in the case of the Cistercians and their prolific spokesman Bernard of Clairvaux. The quality of Cistercian writing and teaching, of Bernard and his successors, is indeed well known, particularly in the field of moral theology.[5] But ultimately neither strand of religious thought appears as productive, creative, and diverse as the monastic schools which emerged between the tenth-century foundation of Cluny and the twelfth-century flowering of Cîteaux and Clairvaux.

Perhaps the pioneer in the study of eleventh-century monastic learning was Sir Richard Southern, whose groundbreaking article 'Medieval Humanism' surely pointed the way to what monastic schools were teaching,[6] as did his biographical studies of St Anselm of Bec and Canterbury.[7] But most of the energies in the original article, 'Medieval Humanism', as well as in the essay collection of the same name focused on the later cathedral schools rather than on the work of

[2] Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988).

[3] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth Century Burgundy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). See also *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth Century Auxerre* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1979).

[4] See, for example, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

[5] The scholarship of St Bernard and the Cistercians is quite prolific. Among the most prominent scholars of Cistercian monasticism, in addition to Constance Brittain Bouchard, is Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); also by Leclercq, *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, vol. II of *A History of Christian Spirituality* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), and *Monks on Marriage: A Twelfth-Century View* (New York: Seabury Press, 1982); Caroline Walker Bynum has written extensively on Cistercian teaching in *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Ann Arbor: Scholars Press, 1979) and *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[6] Printed as chapter 4 in Richard W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), pp. 29–60.

[7] Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); as well as his later *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

the monks.[8] Nevertheless, Southern's conceptual guidelines pointed the way for scholars such as Colin Morris, who ingeniously suggested that the eleventh century discovered the individual, a very humanistic concept indeed.[9] Morris similarly highlighted the influence of St Anselm, perhaps again suggesting that humanism arose from the monasteries, not exclusively from the cathedral schools. These formulae — humanism, the discovery of the individual, and the even more common twelfth-century renaissance[10] — are by no means perfect, but they do give an appropriate sense of the excitement and the possibilities conjured up by the work of Lanfranc, Anselm, and their students.

Indeed, M. D. Chenu, in his *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, at almost the same time as Southern wrote on Anselm, repeatedly returned to Anselm's work as foundational to the twelfth-century renaissance and viewed Anselm as a kind of transitional figure between monastic and scholastic theology.[11] Obviously Peter Abelard did not attend the school of Bec, Chenu declares; yet clearly he was a direct heir to Anselm's thought.[12] More recently, Margaret Gibson looked closely into the theological training and practices of Anselm's teacher Lanfranc and concluded that Lanfranc's writings were strongly rooted in earlier Carolingian practice.[13] From this perspective, too, Anselm once more emerges as the ground-breaking figure, the link between old monastic and episcopal practices, Cluniac and Carolingian, and the new world of the twelfth-century renaissance. But apart from Southern, no study has been done on Lanfranc and Anselm's school of Bec and the specific ideas that emerged from it. Rather, most scholars have looked to the cathedral schools, not the monasteries, for the sources of a generalized twelfth-century mentality.

[8] And Southern would continue this project in his two-volume study: *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. I: *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); and vol. II: *The Heroic Age*, with notes and additions by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

[9] Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

[10] One may gain a fine overview to the literature of the twelfth-century renaissance, as well as a critique of its limitations, through R. N. Swanson's recent overview of the topic: *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

[11] M. D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, selected, ed., and trans. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), see pp. 29, 78, 281, 289, 296, 300, 309.

[12] Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society*, p. 309.

[13] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

A notable exception to this scholarship is the learned Marjorie Chibnall, who included in her comprehensive study of the abbey of Saint-Evroul, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, a chapter on 'Monastic Studies'. Chibnall here tried to reconstruct not a 'school' of Saint-Evroul, but the milieu in which these studies took place and the general areas and activities they covered. First, she argues, taking Richard Southern as her guide, the life of the monastery in its entirety functioned as a school, including all monastic activities: '"The *scola* of a monastery or cathedral was originally the whole community at its work of worship in the choir."'[14] This concept Chibnall interpreted even more broadly than Southern to include virtually every monastic activity, including liturgy, theology, biblical exegesis, the writing of saints' lives, and monastic histories. Chibnall rightly based her discussion on the requirements of the Benedictine Rule:

> Once it was accepted that the manual work required in the Rule could be carried out in choir and scriptorium, all such activities such as participation in the liturgy with its burden of commemoration, bible study, the composition and copying of the lives of saints and abbots, even the recording of the house's early history and possessions, fell into the normal pattern of monastic life.[15]

Chibnall's argument thus suggests that an actual 'school', understood as a place of instruction and learning, did not really exist at Saint-Evroul, or presumably elsewhere. There existed instead an educational way of life.

'An educational way of life' is a theme that finds its echo in the recent work of C. Stephen Jaeger, particularly in his work on Ottonian Germany. His *Origins of Courtliness* argues persuasively that the art of the courtier, the political bishop, grew out of the humanistic education fostered in the cathedral schools of Germany in response to the political needs of the kings.[16] Bishoprics in royal courts at that time required great, commanding, and exceptionally gifted administrators, and they were filled by men of brilliance who in the tenth and eleventh centuries developed the courtly rituals necessary to carry out their duties. With

[14] Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; repr., Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), p. 86, quoting Richard Southern, 'The School of Paris and the School of Chartres', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 113–37 (p. 115).

[15] Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, p. 113.

[16] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

the rise of the papacy, he argues, the episcopacy sank back into mediocrity. Church reform destroyed what he called a 'wave of civilizing'.[17] In his *Envy of Angels*, Jaeger revisits these themes as he traces the evolution of the Cathedral Schools from their origins in France and Germany. Here he stresses their development of what he terms 'charismatic teaching', where the teacher himself was the curriculum and the body was a work of art, the medium for transmitting cultural values.[18] This humanistic, charismatic, courtly culture ended with the rise of universities, scholasticism, and critical thought. Thus Jaeger sees two forces that helped to create medieval humanism: the royal courts that needed administering and civilizing, and hence needed education; and the rise of the cathedral schools, where teachers, under the direction of bishops, helped to fill those demands. He also sees two forces destroying this humanistic era: the newly organized, extremely efficient papal monarchy, which, like the imperial courts, needed educated administrators and courtiers; and the rise of universities that emphasized critical thinking and logic rather than the emotional and charismatic teaching and learning of an earlier era. Again, the narrative is one that highlights the activity of the cathedral schools and the universities, with relatively little emphasis placed upon the monastic schools that often complemented them and perhaps even provided the link between the two.

This tendency to pass over monastic learning affects even the field where the monks would seem to have excelled: biblical exegesis. Beryl Smalley, for example, devotes surprisingly little time to monastic scriptural commentary in her classic overview, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*.[19] Her concern, like that of more recent work, focuses on the development of the gloss, the usually terse and somewhat standardized analyses of the Bible which became the basic teaching tools in the medieval university.[20] Thus the achievements of biblical exegetes like

[17] Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, p. 255.

[18] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). See also his most recent book, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), especially pp. 59–81, 'Love in Education', where he again concentrates on cathedral schools rather than monastic schools.

[19] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964).

[20] A fine example of scholarship in biblical exegesis can be found in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. by Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), in particular, Guy Lobrichon, 'Une nouveauté: les gloses de la Bible', pp. 95–114.

Bruno of Segni, Guibert of Nogent, and Richard of Préaux have received little recognition compared to Anselm of Laon and his successors. One possible corrective to this tendency is the scholarship of Jean Leclercq, who, in works like *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, isolated a distinct method of thought that he labelled 'Monastic Theology'.[21] It is an experiential form of learning, one that derives its power not from the argumentative rationality of the schools but from a direct participation in the divine. In the monastic schools, apparently, the mystical held precedence over the dialectical. Inquiry within the cathedral and the monastery appear once again as largely separate endeavours, loosely if at all connected in terms of their methods and goals, and the history of medieval thought has correspondingly glossed over the latter in its attempt to understand the former.

Another reason that these monastic schools are so little studied is the belief that, somehow, they belong to oral, or even visual, culture, before Europe had made the leap from memory to written record, as it were.[22] The interesting theories of Karl F. Morrison, for example, place monastic learning directly within the sphere of non-literate activity. He has argued in his *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* that the reason monastic historical tracts now appear so fragmentary and disjointed — indeed self-contradictory — is because they were visual in conception, made according to the same aesthetic principles as the art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including sculpture, painting, and drama. Thus they employed a circular, spectator-centred perspective that eludes the modern mind.[23] Even Richard Southern stresses Anselm's conversation as his main mode of teaching, despite the enormous output of written texts from Bec, not least among these Anselm's own correspondence and that of his own monastic teacher Lanfranc.[24] But it is often these conversational

[21] Again, see Leclercq, *Love of Learning*.

[22] Referencing, of course, the formulation of M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

[23] Karl F. Morrison, *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). One of the most interesting aspects of this book, among many others, is that Morrison wrote it in the medieval monastic style. One of his central examples of such monastic writing was the history of Orderic Vitalis, monk of Saint-Evroul in Normandy, close to Bec.

[24] See Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*, and *Saint Anselm: A Portrait*, where he argues that nearly all Anselm's works had 'an origin in talking — mostly Anselm's — and the questions arising therefrom', p. 118.

and visual aspects of monastic thought that provide the crucial insight into chronicles, exegetical treatises, and other aspects of monastic instruction, as Vaughn and others show in their essays below.

For it is a central contention of this volume that the story of the development of education must pass through the monasteries, and particularly the abbey school of Bec. This contention stands in sharp contrast to the usual cathedral school–centred approach of most studies. Charles M. Radding, for example, has argued that the schools during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were able fundamentally to reshape European cognitive processes — bringing about an enlightenment more than a renaissance — precisely because they had emerged from a time of disorder. Since they had so few authorities to whom to appeal, the creative thinkers of this period were free to remake their world through the independent use of reason.[25] In this model, the monastery represents a holdover from the earlier age, where obedience is valued and creative endeavour actively discouraged. Lanfranc therefore is not one of the *moderni* who shaped the new mentality of the twelfth century, but one of the *antiqui* who followed the old rules of 'custom' over logic and reinterpretation.[26] Anselm is one of the innovators, but, as Radding stresses, Anselm the monk '*is* an exception'.[27] But in the light of both Lanfranc's and Anselm's careers at Bec and Canterbury, this view and the scholastic model that underlies it may have to be modified.

Lanfranc and Anselm created at Bec one of the foremost schools in Europe. In the words of Gilbert Crispin, scholars came running to study under the acclaimed master Lanfranc. Sons of *duces*, dukes or military commanders, also flocked to Bec,[28] along with scholars from all over Europe — from France, Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders, according to Orderic Vitalis.[29] While Orderic

[25] Charles M. Radding, *A World Made by Men: Cognition and Society, 400–1200* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

[26] Radding, *World Made by Men*, pp. 166–72 (on Lanfranc's involvement in the Berengarian debate), and pp. 180–81 (on a contribution of Lanfranc to canon law).

[27] Radding, *World Made by Men*, p. 154, n. 1. The italics are Radding's.

[28] 'Accurrunt clerici, ducum filii, nominatissimi scholarum Latinitatis magistri' ('Scholars, the sons of dukes, the most renowned masters from schools in the Latin world come running'): Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster*, ed. by Anna Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 197.

[29] OV II (1968), 250–51. See also OV II, 294–95, which states that both clerics and laymen also studied with Anselm, who had 'followed (secutus)' Lanfranc from Italy to Normandy to study with him.

stresses that Lanfranc brought the lamp of learning into Normandy, and that there had existed no schools of liberal arts there before his arrival,[30] Chibnall indicates in passing that there were indeed secular schools in Normandy. Saint-Evroul's second abbot, Robert of Grandmesnil, had been 'nobly born and educated in secular schools as well as in court', and each of Saint-Evroul's four succeeding abbots had been 'local men educated in secular schools nearby'.[31] Lanfranc's opening of Bec's doors to 'sons of dukes' suggests that Bec's schools tapped into these secular establishments to draw students to his own school of liberal arts and religion. These earlier schools were undoubtedly somewhat informal, probably like those mentioned by Guibert of Nogent in his memoirs. There Guibert tells us that his family had hired a teacher to live in their castle and to offer the entire general curriculum from a tiny bedroom.[32] Bec's apparent incorporation of Northern France's established traditions of secular learning into its school once again suggests the creativity with which Lanfranc and Anselm developed their educational programme, combining elements of scholarly writing, conversation, and prayer into a course with appeal to clerics and *duces* alike.

In terms of how lessons actually proceeded at Bec, Margaret Gibson stressed Lanfranc's theological writing as well as his teaching.[33] Southern, as stated above, highlighted Anselm's 'conversation', his personal relations with his fellow monks at Bec and his students, and his luminous love for them. And new interest is arising in both Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations* and his correspondence. Like Southern, Benedicta Ward has emphasized the private, devotional nature of these texts, their intense emotionality, and their widespread adoption by the laity, particularly aristocratic women.[34] Jean-François Cottier has just published a new critical edition (with a French translation) demonstrating the freshness, variety, and originality of Anselm's prayers as a new direction for this literary genre.[35] Vaughn has recently argued that Anselm may well have conceived of his

[30] OV II, 250.

[31] Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, p. 75.

[32] Most recently on Guibert's teacher, see Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 17–21.

[33] Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*.

[34] In *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm (with the Proslogion)*, intro. and trans. by Benedicta Ward (London: Penguin, 1973).

[35] *Anima Mea: Prières privées et textes de dévotion du Moyen Age latin: Autour des Prières ou Méditations attribuées à Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry (XI^e–XII^e siècle)*, ed. by Jean-François Cottier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

collected correspondence as a teaching vehicle, a record of his living example as a model for the education of future abbots and bishops.[36] Based on this testimony and this enormous and varied output, we may safely conclude that Bec emphasized teaching much more than Cluny and seems to have anticipated Cistercian intellectual endeavours that reached their peak a generation later with St Bernard. Indeed, many of the concepts and activities for which St Bernard is famous were first pioneered at Bec, often by Anselm.[37]

But Anselm and Lanfranc did not exist in a vacuum. Anselm's sources, in particular, are sometimes difficult to ascertain. Clearly he drew on St Augustine, whose paraphrased statements have been discovered throughout Anselm's writing, as well as passages from Boethius.[38] Less known is his reliance on St Gregory the Great, whose ideas and concepts are to be found more in Anselm's letters than in his theology and prayers.[39] Echoes, too, of Bede occur in his letters, particularly those pertaining to England.[40] Most probably, his thought also drew upon the legacy of Carolingian scholarship, whose contours the essays below by Michael E. Moore and Jason Glenn help to define.

Moore's essay functions as a prologue to the rise of eleventh-century monastic schools. The historical and hagiographical works first of Hincmar (806–82) and then of Flodoard (*c.* 893–966) of Reims, monuments of historical imagination, writing, and research, preserve an ancient educational tradition of legal scholarship and historical writing and represent the highest aims of Carolingian

[36] Sally N. Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), see especially chapters 1 and 6.

[37] See, for example, Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 110–70, where she discusses the unusual Cistercian imagery of Jesus as Mother, but cites Anselm's prayer to St Paul as the first instance she can find of such an image; and also see Leclercq, *Monks on Marriage*, in which he chronicles very positive imagery of conjugal love and happy marriages used by Cistercians. These, too, were presaged by Anselm's favourable and positive views of marriage: see Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*. Rubenstein suggests several parallels between the writings of Bernard and Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent, which may offer further evidences for the similarities and perhaps connections between Anselmian and Bernardian thought: Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 23, 26, 74–75.

[38] See Jasper Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St Anselm* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), for the many references to St Augustine and a few to Boethius in Anselm's writings.

[39] On Gregory as Anselm's source, see Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, chapter 6.

[40] Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, pp. 124, 126, 222–23, 272.

education. Moore's essay thus demonstrates a continuous historical, hagiographic, and intellectual tradition at Reims that makes untenable any simplified presentation of a sudden decline in learning with the collapse of the Carolingian empire. This essay, building on the Carolingian research of Richard E. Sullivan and others,[41] establishes the conditions upon which the scholars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries built. Yet it goes beyond a simple study of Carolingian thought by implicitly questioning the validity of a sudden renaissance in the eleventh century, let alone the twelfth.

Jason Glenn then picks up the story of the school at Reims as he describes another of its famous masters, Gerbert of Aurillac. But Glenn more importantly demonstrates the existence alongside Gerbert of a broad, dynamic community of scholars. We see here not just a teacher but also vocal and influential students, making Glenn's essay an important corrective to scholarship that attaches exclusive importance to the role and personality of individual masters. Even in the age of charismatic pedagogy, as Jaeger defines it, teaching and learning at Reims grew out of interchanges between teacher and community and within the community itself, rather than out of a simple desire on the part of students to ape their instructors. More generally, both Moore and Glenn add literary and scholarly detail to the notion of the charismatic teachers who inherited the traditions of Carolingian education but who sometimes appear in modern scholarship deprived of their intellectual substance.

The significance of intellectual exchanges between teacher and community only increases when we turn our attention to Bec. While Lanfranc's and Anselm's theological writings are often assumed to represent what they taught their students, one must neglect neither their concerns with their priorial and abbatial duties, successively, nor their theories about the methodology of teaching. Priscilla D. Watkins believes that Lanfranc sought to teach by example, as the Benedictine Rule stipulates. Through a careful reading of archival material related to Caen, including a newly discovered manuscript (misplaced for some one hundred years) in the Departmental Archives of Calvados, she has recreated the example that Lanfranc set as the new abbot of the ducal abbey of Saint-Etienne. She argues for his efficient administration and indeed entrepreneurial enterprise as he sought to secure the economic foundations not just of his church but also of the new city of Caen, a city that Lanfranc himself was instrumental

[41] See the collection of essays on Carolingian teaching and learning in *'The Gentle Voices of Teachers': Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. by Richard E. Sullivan (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995).

in building. As for the church, Lanfranc oversaw the acquisition of its lands and the engineering projects necessary to secure its economic foundation, constructing the abbey from the 'ground up'. Thus his abbatial roles were multiple as theologian, teacher, administrator, and builder.

Sally N. Vaughn continues that line of argument as she analyses the basis for Anselm's teaching, drawing on the examples, in word and deed, set by Bec's founders Herluin and Lanfranc. Yet, she argues, Anselm went beyond these models and developed pedagogical theories of his own. Vaughn suggests that Anselm's ideas might be partly based on a reading of Quintilian, specific portions of which he echoes. Thus, like Richer and others at Reims, Anselm mirrored classical and patristic models in his expositions on teaching. Beyond theological writing, both legal and historical studies were part of the Bec curriculum, connected by their reliance upon the interpretation of past events as precedents for the future. The effects of these practices were twofold: first, they enabled a large number of students to emerge as administrators; and second, they resulted in the production of an extraordinary number of original and creative texts, with both historical and hagiographical content. This argument, like that of Watkins, confirms and extends the conclusion of Marjorie Chibnall that the entirety of the monastic life was a teaching enterprise. Both Watkins and Vaughn also illuminate how these two abbots, Lanfranc and Anselm, combined abbatial and episcopal functions in advance of their respective promotions to the monastic archbishopric of Canterbury.

Anselm's and Lanfranc's students had absorbed much of the teaching of their mentors, as is to be expected. One of the more prominent among them, Ivo of Chartres, as Bruce Brasington argues, demonstrates his constant commitment to love in his teaching of tradition to a wide audience throughout northern France. Ivo both understood and mediated educational themes from patristic sources as well as traditional concepts of the bishop's role in both law and education, and he continued the Bec tradition of teaching during his years as Bishop of Chartres. This essay, like the previous two, further demonstrates the blending of monastic and episcopal concepts of teaching that functioned at Bec, thus enabling its students to become abbots and bishops, and thus, by definition, administrators and lawyer-judges over their charges.

Another Bec student, Guibert of Nogent, best known today as the first medieval autobiographer, would have preferred to think of himself, like his mentor Anselm, as a preacher and a teacher. Jay Rubenstein, in his essay, focuses on one particular aspect of Guibert's teaching, his use of anecdote, and shows how consistent pedagogical themes underlie even the most diverse stories. In particular, Guibert used stories about England and the English to provide

positive examples for his fellow Frenchmen. In doing so he may very well be demonstrating an affinity with his Bec teachers who were themselves at that time transforming the English Church into a model Guibert would have admired. As Vaughn's and Watkins's essays show, administrative skills were one of the primary goals of a Bec education, so it should therefore come as no surprise that Guibert would admire the governmental sophistication of the English monarchy and the apparent orderliness of the English Church.

Another student of St Anselm, Richard of Préaux, has been all but forgotten by modern scholars, but in the twelfth-century Orderic Vitalis could celebrate him as a man 'deeply learned in sacred scripture'.[42] William L. North lays out for us Richard's career and demonstrates both its intellectual richness and its connections to Bec. Among his numerous exegetical tracts, Richard composed a lengthy commentary on Genesis, and like Guibert of Nogent he did so specifically at Anselm's request. His voluminous literary output offers new insight into the reception and transformation of Anselm's legacy as a teacher and contemplative. But North's article further establishes Richard as a notable thinker in his own right. In addition to establishing the most complete chronology currently available of Richard's works, North also shows how the art of exegesis was, for Richard, an extension of his abbatial teaching authority. Through his scriptural commentaries — which again like Guibert's were largely moral — a monastic audience was to learn the appropriate ways to read and to think about the Bible. He also intended his lessons to instruct monastic leaders about the best ways of carrying out their pastoral duties. Like the hagiographic program at Bec, then, Richard's exegesis worked as a platform for the training of future Church leaders and administrators.

Even more than Bec, the city of Soissons was a major centre of hagiographical production in the twelfth century, with texts written in equal measure for local monasteries and for the episcopacy. John Ott shows how these local *vitae*, some twelve of which survive, explicitly inform local power struggles among the city's abbeys, the bishopric, and its nascent commune. Through his exacting analysis of archival sources, Ott reconstructs the various dialogues about authority that underlay the production of these texts. The fact that hagiography comments on contemporary ecclesiastical and political issues — the role of the bishop, the status of monastic communities, and questions of social organization in the age of the commune — is not by itself especially striking. What is remarkable,

[42] 'Diuinis in litteris eruditissimus': OV IV (1973), 306–07.

however, is the way in which the different *vitae* and miracle collections address one another and contain even within themselves evidence of intellectual exchange and debate. Soissons does not always receive the recognition it deserves as a centre of intellectual and political importance, caught as it is in the shadows of Laon and Reims, but John Ott goes a long way towards casting light back onto this city, its people, and its ideas.

John Cotts's article similarly addresses the question of episcopal-monastic relations, though in doing so he takes us more directly into the early history of the university. The division of all medieval intellectual endeavour into the categories monastic and scholastic, as noted above, is one of the more venerable tropes in the history of the Middle Ages, and one of the most oft-cited pieces of evidence used to prove this division is Peter of Celle's attack against the schools of Paris in one of his letters to his friend John of Salisbury — who, as secretary to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury and formerly Abbot of Bec, also participated in the traditions and teachings of the Bec-Canterbury nexus begun by Lanfranc and Anselm. Through a careful rereading of this passage and through a meticulous reconstruction of John and Peter's epistolary friendship, John Cotts is able to suggest that the letter in fact tells us much less about monastic attitudes towards the schools than we had previously thought. The very category of the 'school' in the mid-twelfth century, in fact, is a less well-defined idea than we are accustomed to admit, a concept still relatively free of institutional constraints. As a result, Cotts is able to suggest — along with many of the other contributors — that the very categories monastic and scholastic thought are somewhat more misleading for our period and hence somewhat less useful than the majority of intellectual historians have recognized.

John Snyder's essay focuses on another crucial, though underappreciated, aspect of monastic thought: musical composition. Students of the Bec school enjoyed a reputation for skill in this field, particularly as it continued into the next generation at Canterbury. Both Osbern and Eadmer of Canterbury, for example, studied under Anselm and served as cantors at Christ Church. They both also composed liturgical music, with Osbern enjoying an especially strong reputation.[43] We know more generally that music was enormously important in

[43] On Osbern's career, see Jay Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066–1109*, ed. by R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London: Hambledon, 1995), pp. 27–40. Eadmer's works include, in his manuscript, an 'Ymnus de sancto Edwardo rege et martiro', with musical notation: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371, described by Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 369.

monastic life, especially at Cluny; yet historians of the monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries rarely discuss the musical developments taking place, largely due to a lack of expertise in musicology. Thus music and composers of music are occasionally mentioned but rarely discussed at length. John Snyder's article on the intellectual experimentation of Theinred of Dover will at least take a step towards bridging these gaps. The period on which the essays in this volume focus, indeed, is the very time in which musical notation was first invented, developing as a parallel to the shift from oral to written culture that Clanchy has described.

So little is known about English music in this era, yet Theinred stands out as a remarkable innovator. Like Bec students he attacked his subject, musical composition, with vigorous creativity, inventing a whole new theory and system of musical interpretation. His *De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum* offers a radical reinterpretation of medieval species theory, constructing a new model for Gregorian Chant that is both implicitly and explicitly sceptical of received authority and its ancient Greek underpinnings. Like Anselm in the *Proslogion*, he used reason to construct an alternative to conventional thought. While his reason may well have rested on Aristotelian foundations, he followed a similar practical process as the teachers of Bec, taking the musical repertoire as his authority and fashioning a theory that would explain it. He may possibly have been the Tenredus whom John of Salisbury mentions in his *Metalogicon*, which suggests a possible milieu for Theinred's activity in the intellectual company of Adelard of Bath.

Finally, our collection concludes with an overarching, prosopographical essay by Mia Münster-Swendsen, who catalogues and compares masters and students through our entire period and looks at the relationships that existed among them. Immediately surprising is first the uniformity of the teaching concepts Münster-Swendsen has found, and also the very personal nature of monastic education. Master and student became bound together in a warm personal relationship evoking something like parental bonds — indeed, in some ways stronger than parental bonds. This collection and comparison of many masters and students shows that education rested on close social and emotional, face-to-face relationships rather than on a given institutional setting. Münster-Swendsen also describes the type of individual that this model created, the mental and psychological structures it imposed, and how the man of learning, the *literatus,* emerged from this didactic discipline.

This heavily emotional, intensely personal environment, described so brilliantly by Münster-Swendsen in our final essay, contrasts sharply with the institutional university and the scholasticism that followed it in the later twelfth

century and in the thirteenth, as Jaeger has argued. While monastic instruction appears to have been intensely personal — one-on-one, or at least one-on-few, as we might envision Lanfranc and Anselm in their conversations with their monk-students — the universities necessarily evolved into entities that provided mass education in the classroom, an environment in which students frequently pitted themselves against masters and in which more rigid guidelines were established for what was sayable and how it might be said. At the University of Bologna, for example, students went on strike to force a set of rules of conduct on their professors. Similarly, at the University of Paris, the masters wrote a set of rules to enforce behavioural norms on their students. In this way mass education overwhelmed the personal teaching and learning of the various schools examined in this volume.

Gone as well was the immense creativity particularly evident here in the students and masters of Bec and in their close and distant heirs. If a statistical analysis were possible (which it is probably not), it would appear that a far larger percentage of monastic students — at least in the example of Bec — gained renown or recognition for creative achievements than did the far larger numbers of students educated at the new universities. Was this due to the more personal environment in monastic schools or to the greater freedom from the rules found there? Or was it simply a sign of the times? Whatever the case, the shift in educational paradigms in the later twelfth century might go a long way towards explaining the pessimistic attitude that Jaeger has recently argued to have been more characteristic of the period than any sense of a 'renaissance'.[44]

For the eleventh century was a far more experimental era than were the medieval centuries that followed it. It was the starting point for Radding's 'world made by men', for Morris's 'discovery of the individual', for Southern's scholastic humanism, and the basis for numerous twelfth-century renaissances. The lines between monastic and cathedral schools during this time were fluid, with traditions flowing back and forth between them as monks emerged from their abbeys to take on either episcopal duties or teaching in episcopal schools. The clearest example is Ivo of Chartres, but both of his teachers, Lanfranc and Anselm, also followed this professional path. It was the professionalizing and the systematization of learning which helped bring this period to an end. To take a particular example, Jay Rubenstein's portrait of the mind of Guibert of Nogent clearly mirrors Anselm's humanism and humanistic approaches, with disastrous

[44] C. Stephen Jaeger, 'Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 1151–83.

consequences for Guibert when he found himself caught in the newer trends of scholastic thinking and papal power-building and rule-making.[45] One imagines that the intellectual world became less welcoming still to men educated in an eleventh-century style in the years after John of Salisbury and Peter of Celle engaged in their playful exchange about the place of the school in the Christian life.

Thus the creativity of the eleventh-century monastic schools and their students either did not persist far into the achievements of the twelfth-century renaissance, or they were transformed into very different entities. The mass-produced, systematically educated throngs of secular and ecclesiastical lawyers and administrators — and bureaucrats — in the twelfth century soon outmoded the less efficient, more personal schools of the eleventh. The individual achievement that seems to have characterized the earlier schools gave way to 'schools of thought' or disciplines to be identified with specific callings — Cistercian, Franciscan, Dominican, Premonstratensian, and many more. It was perhaps the great creativity and diversity at Bec and other eleventh-century abbeys that have prevented them from receiving their due recognition, since they defy easy categorization as a 'school of thought' with a set methodology.

Thus what this collection of essays shows is an evolution of teaching and learning in the monastic schools and the early cathedral schools, from their origins in the Carolingian era to their fruition in the eleventh century, with the abbey of Bec as the shining example of the heights to which such an intense, personalized education could lead. The various students and teachers portrayed here from Bec, Canterbury, and Northern Europe more generally developed their lives and careers in intimate settings and took their scholarly investigations in creative new directions. They found in their eleventh-century world an environment in which human achievement could reach its peak in unfettered creativity. The later twelfth and thirteenth centuries may have produced grander architectural monuments and more flamboyant personalities, but they also laid the groundwork for regulations that could quickly stamp 'heresy' on innovative thought and restrict inquiry with stringent rules. The eleventh century, on the other hand, was subtler, less restricted and thus freer, more emotional, more personal, more humane, and thus, quite possibly, grander in its achievement.

[45] Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, esp. pp. 189–96.



Figure 2. St Remigius, Bishop of Reims, Eleventh-Century Ivory Diptych, from M. Rigollot's Collection, Amiens. Top: St Remigius heals a paralytic. Middle: St Remigius heals a sick man at the altar. Bottom: St Remigius baptizing King Clovis; in Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance,* rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 258.

Prologue: Teaching and Learning History in the School of Reims, *c.* 800–950

Michael E. Moore

A stream of historical writing poured from the church of Reims for about one and a half centuries, issuing from the pens of Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims (845–82), Flodoard, a canon of Reims cathedral (*c.* 893–966), Richer, a monk of Saint-Rémi (between 950/60 and *c.* 998), and other less-known writers. These historical works vary in genre, character, and scope. There were annals, kept by Hincmar and continued by Flodoard; a group of saints' lives; Flodoard's sombre *History of the Church of Reims* and Richer's showy, impressionistic *Histories*. The main themes of the history of Reims were passed down in the cathedral school from teacher to student, guiding the activities of the scriptorium and the collection of books and documents in the cathedral library. Hincmar prepared the ground for this series of successor-historians, writing a vast number of books, gathering historical documents, and showing how those documents could be used and understood. Beyond that, Hincmar established that the history of the Frankish kingdom could be viewed meaningfully from a 'Reims perspective'.[1] Together these historians established the pertinence and legitimacy of the independent history of Reims from its origins onward, with its royal associations: what might be called 'the historical epic of Reims'. They accomplished this in a series of historical writings that take us from the height of the Carolingian Empire to the rise of the Capetian monarchy.

A number of factors seems relevant to understanding the historical school of Reims: the resources of the scriptorium and library of Reims (especially from the

[1] Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Carolingian Kings and the See of Reims, 882–987', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. by Patrick Wormald (London: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 228–49 (p. 245).

time of Hincmar onward), the impact of teachers such as Remigius of Auxerre and Hucbald of Saint-Amand on the cathedral school and its students, and finally the royalist tradition of the great cathedral, centred around the cult of St Remigius.[2] In pursuing these themes chronologically through the careers of the cathedral's bishops and teachers, I hope to offer a preliminary but informative overview of the historical school of Reims.

It is often argued that our effort to identify and understand the authors of medieval histories should be dissolved into questions of social power and the institutional secretion of memory.[3] The historians writing in Reims, however, tended to express their own powerful personalities, and we should take some account of these figures as individuals. Moreover, as Gadamer reminds us, there is an element of mystery in traditions like that of Reims.[4] Books are conveyed through time by the voices of those who can read aloud, ponder, and say what the written words mean. The continued presence and impact of books rely on *traditions of explanation* lying outside of the books themselves. Traditions of explanation come to life between friends, and between teachers and students, but are also informed by books. This is a circular movement, from book to explanation and back to texts again, from thence to other texts citing textual authorities without apparently recognizing that that textual authority is based on an oral tradition, as we shall see. Thus we might first approach the problem of history writing at Reims by considering the communal setting of these acts of memory and compilation: the presence of the past at Reims.

The Historical World of Reims

Closely involved in royal affairs from the beginning of the Carolingian dynasty, the clerics (and historians) of Reims were supremely aware of the dignity of the city, and the historical role of her bishops.[5] During the Capetian period, the

[2] Philippe Depreux, 'Imbuendis ad fidem prefulgidum surrexit lumen gentibus: La dévotion à saint Remi de Reims aux IX^e^ et X^e^ siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 35 (1992), 111–29.

[3] For example, Walter Pohl, 'History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory', *Early Medieval Europe*, 10 (2001), 343–74.

[4] Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'Culture and the Word', in his *Praise of Theory*, trans. by Chris Dawson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 1–15.

[5] Guillaume Marlot (d. 1667), *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims* (Posthumous edition by the Académie de Reims), 4 vols (Reims: L. Jacquet, 1843), I, 201.

cathedral and city of Reims continued to be at the centre of royal politics, were often fought over, and were sometimes attacked by armies, as in 987 and 991.[6] The Bishops of Reims had long laboured to establish their prominence vis-à-vis other bishops of the Frankish world. They could point, for example, to the fact that their city was really a second Rome, for Reims had been founded by Remus, the brother of Romulus. A brothers' quarrel had made Rome too small for the both of them.[7] Along with the dignity of ancient origins went ecclesiastical prominence, with the claim that the primacy of Reims was as old as the first conversion of the Belgi by St Sixtus.

When Hincmar began to keep the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* in the 840s, relations between the Archbishop of Reims and the Carolingian king seemed to be at the core of Frankish history, since the city of Reims was clearly a major centre of the empire.[8] The bishopric of Reims already possessed an elaborate and dense historical world, affirmed and made visible in the physical landscape and extensive properties of Reims: the cathedral itself, dedicated to St Mary; the surrounding cities and their suffragan churches, with all their attendant chapels and monasteries; the graves of saintly men, kings, and other members of the Carolingian family; the tantalizing inscriptions, all inviting explanation by the learned.[9] An inscription under an image of the Virgin read:

> *Virgo Maria tenet hominem regemque Deumque*
> *Visceribus propriis natum de Flamine sancto*.[10]

[6] McKitterick, 'Carolingian Kings', p. 245; Ferdinand Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 147 (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1903), pp. 27–28.

[7] Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. by Patrick Geary (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 9. The story was recounted by Flodoard von Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. by Martina Stratmann, MGH SS, 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), 1.1, pp. 61–63.

[8] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Felix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet, Société de l'histoire de France, 470 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964). An earlier edition, still widely used: *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), pp. 419–515. For a commentary and translation, *The Annals of Saint-Bertin*, trans. Janet L. Nelson, Ninth-Century Histories, 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1991).

[9] Patrick Demouy, *Notre-Dame de Reims: Sanctuaire de la monarchie sacrée* (Paris: CNRS, 1995). Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims: Son histoire, son architecture, sa sculpture, ses vitraux* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).

[10] Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.5, p. 198 ('The Virgin Mary holds a man and a king and a God / born of her own womb from the Holy Spirit').

The words could only be fully explained and fully understood if the onlooker were told that this image and inscription were part of Hincmar's decorative program — and a feature of his general *reparatio* of the church of Reims, a restoration of everything from church fixtures to culture and learning.

There were many relics of saints in Reims, and other sacred objects from the past around which historical tradition formed, most notably the body of Remigius (d. *c.* 532), the founder of the see of Reims, and the Holy Ampoule, both preserved in the Abbey of Saint-Rémi. The Ampoule was held to contain oil, continuously replenished by supernatural means, from the long-ago baptism of Clovis by St Remigius, a physical guarantee and reminder of the royal dimension of Reims.[11]

For more than a thousand years, into the eighteenth century, the archdiocese of Reims was a major centre of royal ceremonial and the place where Frankish and later French kings were crowned, anointed, and sometimes buried.[12] Reims was the 'crowning city'.[13] After the establishment of the ritual of anointing for the Carolingian dynasty, beginning in 751 in Soissons, a Reims tradition developed that the first royal anointing had taken place much earlier, in Reims, when Remigius had baptized Clovis.[14] In actuality Louis the Pious was the first king to be anointed as king in Reims. Later coronations of the Carolingian (and later Capetian) kings took place sometimes in Reims, often elsewhere. But whether the ceremony was conducted in Laon, Compiègne, Noyon, or Orléans, the presiding bishop was almost always the Bishop of Reims.[15] With the help of

[11] Marlot, *Histoire*, I, 693.

[12] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures, et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie, 7 (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1975).

[13] Jean Sainsaulieu, 'De Jérusalem à Reims: Origines et évolution des sacres royaux', in *Le Sacre des rois*, Actes du Colloque international d'histoire sur les sacres et couronnements royaux, Reims 1975 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985), pp. 17–26. Carlrichard Brühl, *Reims als Krönungsstadt des französischen Königs bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Heil, 1950). Walter Mohr, 'Reichspolitik und Kaiserkrönung in den Jahren 813 und 816', *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 20 (1960), 168–86.

[14] Jean de Pange, 'Doutes sur la certitude de cette opinion que le sacre de Pépin est la première époque du sacre des rois de France', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés a la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, ed. by Charles-Edmond Perrin (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 557–64; see also Michael E. Hoenicke Moore, 'The King's New Clothes: Royal and Episcopal Regalia in the Frankish Empire', in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. by Stewart Gordon (New York: St Martin's/Palgrave, 2000), pp. 95–135.

[15] Jacques Le Goff, *Reims, Krönungsstadt*, trans. by Bernd Schwibs, Kleine kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 58 (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1997), pp. 21–27.

Archbishop Hincmar, Charles the Bald could draw on the royal connotations of Reims to provide a source of legitimacy for his rule. He was anointed in Metz in 845 in a ceremony conducted by Hincmar and designed to hearken back to the ancient baptism of Clovis by Remigius.[16]

The historicity of Reims also took the form of a legal tradition reflecting the governing role of her bishops over the centuries, and the rich record of their legislation. Some thirty-seven councils had been held in Reims before the year 1000, while many additional councils had been held under the authority of the Bishops of Reims in other places such as Trosly.[17] Conciliar records were a cumulative body of law connecting the work of recent local councils to the distant past of the ecumenical councils of the early Church. These councils were part of the basic framework of history, and Hincmar, Flodoard, and Richer all took care to record them.[18]

Reims was thus a royal and priestly city. The historical writing undertaken in Reims was an effort to engage this massive archaeological and mental landscape of law and letters, monuments and records, ancient bones and ancient buildings, and to find in them a basis for understanding urgent daily happenings. At the centre of efforts to record and make sense of this 'landscape of memory' were the scriptorium and library of Reims.

The Library of Reims

In studying a tradition such as that of Reims, we are led to consider the meaning of its books and to ask how a group of themes could give compelling interest, and a sense of urgency, to its tradition of historical writing. Like botanical line-drawings, the histories written in Reims highlighted only the most meaningful features of the city's densely layered and interwoven *lieux-mémoires*.

The tradition was centred in the library and scriptorium of the cathedral, and in the other scriptoria that served it: at Saint-Nicaise, Saint-Denis, Saint-Rémi,

[16] Philippe Depreux, 'Saint Rémi et la royauté carolingienne', *Revue Historique*, 578 (1991), 235–60.

[17] Pietro Palazzini, *Dizionario dei concili*, 6 vols (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1963–67), IV (1966), 85–107.

[18] Wilfried Hartmann, 'Konzilien und Geschichtsschreibung in karolingischer Zeit', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 32 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 481–98.

Saint-Thierry, and Hautvilliers. While some three hundred manuscripts can be identified as coming from Carolingian Reims, little is known of the early history of the library, although it was certainly already active during the rule of Archbishop Tilpin (*c.* 753–*c.* 800). Much more can be said about the library and scriptorium beginning with the episcopacy of Hincmar (845–82). Nearly half of Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* is devoted to the time of Hincmar, in part because of the massive documentation then available for his archiepiscopacy.[19] At that time the library came to house a collection of history books ranging from Ammianus Marcellinus to medieval narratives such as Gregory of Tours's *Ten Books of Histories,* alongside collections of annals and a vast archive of ecclesiastical records, charters, forgeries, letters of Reims's bishops, letters of the popes, and other documents of historical significance.[20] The library and its archives burgeoned to document Hincmar's relations with the court of Charles the Bald, his complex and bitter struggles to defend his position as archbishop against other bishops and against the King himself.[21] Hincmar's own writings, many of them produced in the course of these controversies, also added to the depth and character of the library.[22] The archive and library thus became the literate repository of the memory of Reims, possessing all the resources required to make it a major intellectual centre.[23]

The aims of the historical tradition of Reims shaped the very gathering of its books and documents. Hincmar's legal expertise, for example, found its reflection in the many compilations of law gathered in the library of Reims: Gallican councils and papal letters, the canons of Dionysius Exiguus, along with volumes of Visigothic and Frankish law, the letters and homilies of Pope Leo, and a copy of Charlemagne's Capitularies.[24] The library cannot be reconstructed with

[19] Frederick M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.)', in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. by Leslie Webber Jones (Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1938), pp. 41–60.

[20] Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église au X^e^ siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), pp. 69–77.

[21] Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845–882*, 3 vols, Travaux d'histoire ethico-politique, 29 (Geneva: Droz, 1975–76).

[22] From among his extensive writings, see for example Hincmar of Reims, *Opusculum in causa Hincmari Laudensis*, *PL* 126, cols 279–647; and his *Expositiones pro ecclesiae libertatum defensione*, *PL* 125, cols 1035–70.

[23] Le Goff, *Reims,* p. 31.

[24] Manuscripts identified by the marks of a thirteenth-century librarian: Carey, 'Scriptorium of Reims', pp. 45–47, 56.

precision, but one could probably also find at Saint-Rémi the commentaries by Augustine on the Gospel of John and the Psalms, and Isidore's *Etymologiae*. There were also historical works of Bede, Cassiodorus, Einhard, Eusebius, Prosper of Aquitaine, and Suetonius.[25]

This library at that time held a small collection of works from classical antiquity such as Cicero, Juvenal, Lucretius, and Seneca, thus reflecting the cultural aims of the Carolingian Renaissance. It was a collection designed not for leisurely pursuits, outside of holy leisure. According to Flodoard, Hincmar took great care in promoting learning in the cathedral and monasteries of Reims. He was perhaps aware of the importance of his own boyhood education in Saint-Denis under Abbot Hilduin. When Saint-Denis showed signs of decline, Hilduin had sought to restore the monastery to its former cultural brilliance.[26] Many of the volumes surviving from the church of St Mary had once been given to the library by Archbishop Hincmar. Flodoard especially noted the deluxe codices, Gospels with gem-encrusted covers and gold lettering, with which Hincmar endowed the library of Reims.[27] Thus the purpose and significance of the library came into focus during the episcopacy of Hincmar, his own *Nachlass* one of the most significant sections of the archive. Likewise the history of Reims came into focus. The possibility emerged in Hincmar's hands of viewing the city's history as the coherent unfolding of its significance from Antiquity.

Despite this emphasis on historical studies, the cultural activity and scholarly interests of Reims place its cathedral school in the mainstream of the Carolingian education program. Reform initiatives of kings and bishops alike had attempted to guarantee a high level of clerical education since the time of Charlemagne, who issued laws and expended royal resources on behalf of the project. Before returning to the historical work of Hincmar, let us glance at one prominent expression of Carolingian ideals of scholarship and learning, by the scholar Hraban Maur.

Clerical Education and the Study of History

Hraban Maur (780–856), a monk of Fulda and later Archbishop of Mainz, was one of the most learned men of his age. Later commemorated as the Teacher of

[25] Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 69–70.

[26] Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.1, pp. 190–91.

[27] 'Evangelium aureis argenteisque describi fecit litteris': Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.5, p. 198; Carey, 'Scriptorium of Reims', p. 44.

Germany (*Praeceptor Germaniae*) for his many works of erudition, he was devoted to the high Carolingian project of clerical education and reform.[28] Hraban was also known and admired in Reims. Hincmar thought highly of Hraban's works, for example his popular *Enarrationum in epistolas S. Pauli*, which Hincmar collected for the cathedral library.[29]

Hraban's views on education may be found in his lengthy handbook of ecclesiastical institutions, which detailed all the responsibilities, activities, dress, and practices of clerics and laid out an educational program to train such men. The title of the work, *De Clericorum institutione*, might be translated as *On the Formation of Clerics*.[30] True to the spirit of the *Admonitio generalis*, Hraban believed that education of the clergy should be bent only towards the purposes of divine learning, scriptural study, and the proper functioning of the liturgy. The *Formation of Clerics* offers a general guide to such studies, covering topics such as the importance of pronunciation and intonation for conveying the sense of Bible readings,[31] the times and duration of fasting,[32] the hierarchy and orders of clerics, and a lengthy disquisition on the symbolic meaning and biblical origin of priestly vestments.[33] This range of concerns may be traced directly to the reform program of the *Admonitio generalis*, and the later reform efforts of Louis the Pious, such as the Council of Aachen, held in 816.[34]

As ritual experts overseeing the cult, priests needed a detailed understanding of ecclesiastical rituals and the liturgical year.[35] Such duties required them to be

[28] For a sketch of Hraban's concerns and accomplishments, see Franz Brunhölzl, 'Zur geistigen Bedeutung des Hrabanus Maurus', in *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt, und Bischof*, ed. by Raymund Kottje and Harald Zimmermann, Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Einzelveröffentlichung, 4 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, 1982), pp. 1–18.

[29] This copy is Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 308.

[30] Hraban Maur, *De Clericorum institutione ad Heistulphum Archiepiscopum libri tres*, *PL* 107, cols 293–420.

[31] Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 363B–364D.

[32] Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, col. 339A,B.

[33] Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 298–309.

[34] Hans-Christoph Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikerbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäischer Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, 186 (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2001), pp. 41–52.

[35] Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 343–61.

literate and learned, first of all in what might be called 'sacred lore' — thus a discussion of the books of the Bible and its authors and languages leads directly to the topic of blessings, the Symbol, and a catalogue of heresies that must have had little practical relevance to the world of ninth-century Mainz.[36] In all of this, compendious rote learning is implied, although when Hraban turns to the question of clerical education, it becomes clear that the knowledge and moral rectitude of clerics were to form a single project. Learned clerics who do not lead good lives are 'like sheep who muddy with their feet the waters they drink'.[37] Thus the key is to produce men capable of right living (*vitae rectitudo*).[38] According to Hraban, a correct and holy type of learning is paramount for clerics, because of their special cultural and religious role, 'in order that they might judge between the just and the unjust and discriminate between the sacred and the profane, the polluted and the clean, and so that they might teach the people of God all the laws and all the precepts He has established for them'.[39]

Although it has been suggested that *On the Formation of Clerics* was written in a monastic setting, perhaps reflecting Hraban's concerns as Abbot of Fulda,[40] the work is clearly concerned above all with secular clergy, taking the bishop as the pre-eminent figure who establishes the other orders of clerics, and who sees to it that they are well educated.

A cleric should be trained to leadership and be able to preach well, but the heart of clerical education was to read, explain, and internalize scripture. All other purely human disciplines, such as mathematics, medicine, and astrology, knowledge of plants, stones, and geography, while in some cases useful, are to be taken up in clerical education only as aids in the understanding of scripture: *ad aenigmata Scipturarum solvenda*.[41] For this purpose grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric were the most crucial disciplines. On the other hand, Hraban's view of the importance of the 'profane sciences' gave them a firm place in his educational

[36] The discussion of heresies occurs at Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107 cols 371–78.

[37] 'Aquam scilicet eorum pedibus turbatam oves bibunt': Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, col. 378.

[38] Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, p. 50.

[39] 'Ut judicent inter justum et injustum, et discernant inter sanctum et profanum, inter polutum et mundum, doceantque populum Dei omnia legitima ejus et praecepta quae mandaverat ad eos': Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 297D–298A.

[40] Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, pp. 223–24.

[41] Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, col. 394A.

program.[42] Thus while the study of history had only a minor role in Hraban's educational program, he confirmed its importance, along with the 'art of governing', vindicating all such studies by connecting them to the central religious task of education.[43] The highest education, in some sense, would be the education of the ruler. Hraban was acutely interested in the relevance of biblical history for contemporary events and the guidance of rulers, offering his political wisdom to Louis the Pious in the form of biblical exegeses.[44] This concern was shared by Hincmar, who held strong views on the nature of kingship and wished to instruct his king by promoting a correct understanding of history. Thus Hincmar's historical writings were shaped by an ideal of education close to that of Hraban Maur.

Hincmar (845–882): Reims and Royalty

With Hincmar the resources of the archiepiscopal library were turned towards historical writing in a way that would also foster the work of later historians: here history was pursued as both the documentation and the deepening of the record of the past. Past reality was unveiled by books and documents, and one's hold on the past was authenticated through reading and writing. This is certainly true of Hincmar's *Life of Remigius*.[45] At the outset Hincmar gestured to the existence in Reims of a living oral tradition (*vulgata receptio*) concerning Remigius, the founder of the see. He was engaged in establishing and explaining the mythic origins of Reims's role in history.[46] Hincmar's book was intended to fill the strange lacuna that no book then existed to tell about the life of a figure so important for the history of Reims. Nevertheless, the stories told about Remigius by the clerics in Reims were said to go back ultimately to a mysterious book of impressive size, 'written in an ancient hand', concerning the life, deeds, and death of Remigius. The ancient tome, according to Hincmar's informants, could

[42] Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, pp. 219–20.

[43] Hraban, *De Clericorum institutione*, *PL* 107, cols 393–95.

[44] Mayke De Jong, 'The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 191–226.

[45] *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis auctore Hincmaro*, ed. by Bruno Krusch in MGH SSRM, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), pp. 239–341.

[46] Depreux, 'La dévotion à saint Remi', p. 119.

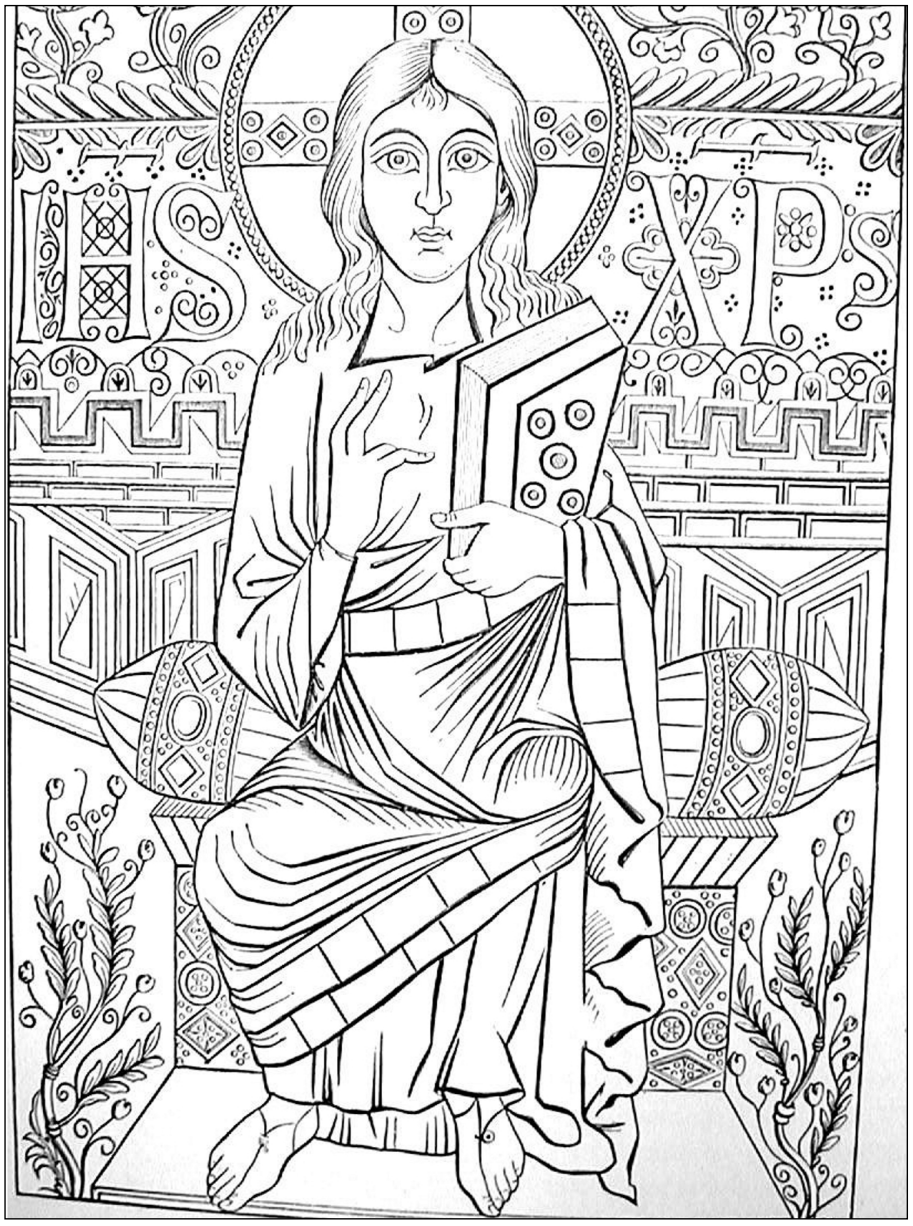


Figure 3. Ninth- or Tenth-Century Miniature, after The Gospels of Charlemagne, Louvre Library; from Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance*, rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 350.

still be seen in the time of Bishop Tilpin.[47] It was Hincmar's book, however, that was truly massive. The tradition of explanation, in other words, preferred to have its roots in a book, even if a lost book. Thus Hincmar's act of history writing was presented as the rewriting of a book from the past. Almost poignantly, Hincmar places this 'lost life of Remigius' in the ranks of other great, lost books, such as the *Wars of the Lord* (mentioned in Numbers), the writings of the prophet Nathan (mentioned in I Samuel) and the many other 'volumes which are known to have been written, but which today are no longer extant'.[48]

In 'rewriting' the *Life of Remigius*, Hincmar could draw on some surviving items in the cathedral library such as the verse life of Remigius by Fortunatus (*Carmina* 3). Other 'documents' had to be improvised, such as a spurious letter from St Benedict to Remigius. When he drew upon records actually preserved in the library at Reims, Hincmar also guided the later historians of Reims. For example, Hincmar quoted a letter of Pope Hadrian to Bishop Tilpin on the reception of the pallium by Bishop Abel, Tilpin's predecessor.[49] The letter was still available for Flodoard to use in his *History of the Church of Reims*.[50]

One of Hincmar's chief aims in writing the life of Remigius was to clarify and document the royal character of Reims.[51] The baptism of Clovis forms the climax of the work, with Remigius kneeling in prayer because the ampoules of holy oil were empty, 'but rising up from his prayer [. . .] he found them full'.[52] The *Life of Remigius* thus helped explain and confirm one of Reims's most precious possessions, the constantly renewed oil of the Holy Ampoule. More than that, by playing such a crucial role in establishing the Christian kingship of the Franks,

[47] 'Eos vidisse librum maxime quantitatis manu antiquaria scriptum de ortu ac vita et virtutibus atque obitu beati Remigii sanctissimi patroni nostri' ('They had seen an extremely large book written in an ancient hand about the birth and life and virtues and death of blessed St Remigius, our patron'): Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, p. 250, following the correction in the notes of the MGH of *patroni* in place of *patronis*.

[48] 'Volumina, quae Scriptura quidem fuisse probat, sed hodie constat non esse': Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, pp. 252–53.

[49] Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, p. 251.

[50] Flodoard, *Historia*, 2.16, pp. 166–67.

[51] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 97–105; see also his 'History in the Mind of Archbishop Hincmar', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to R.W. Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 43–70.

[52] 'Surgens autem ab oratione [. . .] plenas invenit': Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, p. 290.

Reims and her bishops were shown to be instrumental in bringing about the reign of Christ.

Flodoard would also make the conversion of the Franks and the baptism of Clovis a major theme of his history, similarly establishing the connection of Reims to kingship at the very outset of his narrative. Unlike Hincmar, Flodoard was able to document these events by referring to an *existing* major book on the topic: Hincmar's *Life of Remigius* itself. Thus the tradition of explanation continued to make its circular movement from spoken word to text and back again.

In writing the *Life of Remigius*, Hincmar also drew upon the library's rich holdings of historical texts, in particular royal histories, thus allowing the hallowed connection between Reims and Frankish royalty to be highlighted. Towards the end of the work, Hincmar quoted extensively from the *Ten Books of Histories* by Gregory of Tours, the *Liber Historiae Francorum,* and the *Royal Frankish Annals*. By drawing upon such histories in his *Life of St Remigius*, Hincmar sought to connect the founding saint of Reims to the greater historical and political horizon of Frankish royal history.

Hincmar also maintained an annal, but its style and substance was closer to the royal annals than to ecclesiastical annals, and Flodoard would later follow Hincmar's model. Traditionally the annals maintained in a church or monastery comprised brief annual records of events or prodigies in the neighbouring region.[53] Some more ambitious ecclesiastical annals, as at Fulda, Lorsch, and Metz, could also incorporate events from across the kingdom and tended to keep the king in view.[54]

The Carolingian kings, for their part, had been eager to control the memory of royal activity through the writing of histories.[55] The *Royal Frankish Annals*[56]

[53] Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France aux X^e^ et XI^e^ siècles (France du Nord et de l'Est)', in *La Storiografia altomedievale*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 17 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1970), II, 793–850.

[54] *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891); *Annales Laureshamenses*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1826); *Annales Mettenses priores*, ed. by B. von Simson, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905).

[55] Stuart Airlie, 'Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission: Charlemagne's Mastering of Bavaria', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 9 (1999), 93–119. Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 1–20.

[56] *Annales regni francorum*, ed. by Reinhold Rau, Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), pp. 10–155. One should still

is a record of such major historical events compiled by well-placed men, probably clerics at the court of the Carolingian kings, covering events from 741 to 829.[57] For these participant-observers, the rise of a Frankish empire was the meaningful unfolding of a divine plan. It was this larger scale and narrative conception that Hincmar followed in his own annalistic writing.

Hincmar continued the *Royal Frankish Annals* in the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, one of our most important sources of information for the period from 830 to 882. Following an earlier continuation by Prudentius, the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* continued to comprise a close and highly informed record of royal affairs, but it also now reflected the interests of the see of Reims and the deeds of Hincmar himself as a great representative of archiepiscopal power. The theme of Reims's involvement in royal affairs became a continual leitmotif of the *Annals*.[58] Hincmar's account shows a marked interest in royal garments and ceremonial, such as the moment in 834 when Louis the Pious was restored to power and was allowed to wear his royal vestments again.[59] He offered detailed information about rites of anointing and crowning, such as that of Charles the Bald in 848.[60]

With even more detail he describes his own anointing and crowning of Charles in 869 as King of Lotharingia, in the special ceremony based on his understanding of Remigius and his 'anointing' of Clovis, now developed as a political symbol and inscribed with care in historical memory.[61] Major turning points of royal history were thus pictured as blossoming like a flower out of Reims cathedral. Hincmar's social ideal was a calm and dignified relation between court and cathedral. The archbishop should propound the truths of cosmic and social order, and the king should help establish and defend this order. This was not a static picture of the world but a flexible vision suited to

consult: *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895).

[57] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Political Ideology in Carolingian Historiography', in *Uses of the Past*, ed. by Hen and Innes, pp. 162–74.

[58] Janet L. Nelson, 'Hincmar of Reims on King-making: The Evidence of the *Annals of St Bertin*, 861–882', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual,* ed. by János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 16–34. See also Nelson, 'Kingship, Law and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Reims', in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 133–71.

[59] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 834, p. 12.

[60] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 848, p. 49.

[61] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 869, pp. 157–64.

Hincmar's active and tireless personality and his daily involvement in political change and struggle. During the period of some twenty years in which Hincmar was Charles's advisor, he used the annal entries to record his criticisms, better judgements, and second thoughts regarding the king's actions.[62]

Hincmar's annal was also detailed in its presentation of his own role in history, as a representative of Reims and its unrivalled primacy. The terrible battles that ensued when Charles the Bald decided to give his palace chaplain Ansegsis primatial powers over the entire Frankish church show Hincmar in splendid displays of rage, rich garments, and ceremonial.[63] It can be said that because of Hincmar's participation in major affairs of the kingdom and his close connection to the court of Charles the Bald, but also in his historical writing, the ancient glory of Reims became visible. This was a legacy that Hincmar was at pains to preserve and teach, not merely to students and clerics but to kings and judicious readers as well. As Janet Nelson puts it, 'Hincmar, as a thoroughly ninth-century figure, saw History as counsel' — a form of counsel given publicly for the instruction of kings, specifically Charles the Bald, and a form of counsel that Charles, the king and emperor, was ready to hear, though not always to accept.[64]

It was mentioned earlier that Hincmar, a generous patron and careful overseer of the library and scriptorium of Reims, ensured that education continued at a high level in the diocese. Borrowing, copying, and producing new books for the library put books firmly at the centre of all such cultural activity and education, and here too Hincmar was active. The school of Reims would in turn focus on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic: as in other Carolingian schools, education in the school of Reims was directed towards understanding words and the use of words. History was not customarily a part of the curriculum, but was, like biblical exegesis, a field for more advanced scholars.[65] The historian, like the exegete, would attempt to understand the world around him or judge the activities of the powerful, and thus his work might easily seem subversive. At Reims,

[62] Janet L. Nelson, 'History-Writing at the Courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Scharer and Scheibelreiter, pp. 435–42.

[63] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Grat, Vielliard, and Clémencet, annal 876, pp. 201–05.

[64] Nelson, 'History-Writing', p. 442.

[65] David Ganz, 'Book Production in the Carolingian Empire and the Spread of Carolingian Minuscule', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II: *c.700–c.900*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 786–808.

however, the historian Hincmar and his relation to King Charles the Bald had put historical studies at the forefront of scholarly activity.[66]

The School of Reims

It would seem that the disruptions of political struggle and invasion during the last years of Hincmar's episcopacy and through the end of the ninth century were difficult times for the library and community of Reims. From the earliest entries Flodoard's *Annals* are emotionally haunted by the Vikings, perceived as enemies of the Frankish order and of all cultural accomplishment. Indeed, Viking raids had reached inland to Reims by the death of Hincmar in 882. Flodoard makes clear that in his view it was because of the Vikings that scholarship fell into a steep decline during the last few years of Hincmar's reign, a decline that continued at first under the episcopate of Fulk (*c.* 883–900), Hincmar's successor. Nevertheless, there were still scholars to be found in Reims in this period.

Almannus (*c.* 830–89) was a historian who helped to set the tone of scholarly life in Reims, one of the intellectual lights still burning in Reims at the end of Hincmar's episcopate and the beginning of Fulk's tenure. According to Flodoard, Almannus was a monk and presbyter of Hautvilliers who had turned away from his involvement in secular affairs (*negotia secularia*) to lead a life of reading and prayer.[67] Almannus wrote a lamentation on the model of Jeremiah about the destruction of his monastery by the Vikings, so his work also reflects the sense of anxious gloom we find in Flodoard.[68] Almannus also wrote a life of St Nivard, an early Bishop of Reims and contemporary of Childeric. The *Life of Nivard* places Almannus in the tradition of the historical school of Reims and its cultural aspirations.[69]

According to Almannus, Bishop Nivard was himself a learned man: his parents had sent him off 'to be imbued with the study of letters'.[70] Nivard

[66] Janet L. Nelson, 'Charles le Chauve et les utilisations du savoir', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre: De Murethach à Rémi, 830–908*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), pp. 37–54.

[67] Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.28, p. 357.

[68] Marlot, *Histoire*, II, 675.

[69] *Vita Nivardi episcopi Remensis auctore Almanno monacho Altivillarensi*, ed. by B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SSRM, 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), pp. 157–71.

[70] 'Litterarum studiis imbuendus': Almannus, *Vita Nivardi episcopi*, p. 160.

represented the educational aims of the school of Reims and, no doubt, Almannus's own ideals of scholarship. Flodoard would probably have mentioned it if Almannus had taught in the cathedral school. But Almannus certainly sounds like a schoolteacher when he tells us that Bishop Nivard 'reached the pinnacle of knowledge because of his diligent reading'.[71] A familiarity with the work of John Scotus Eriugena can be detected in the writings of Almannus, and as we shall see, this also seems to connect him to the milieu of the court of Charles the Bald and to the cathedral school of Reims.

What I have called the tradition of explanation can thus be illustrated in regard to Almannus and his *Life of Nivard*. In composing the work, Almannus was able to draw on charters and privileges to be found in the archives of Reims and Hautvilliers. Later on Flodoard could make use of Almannus's *Life of Nivard* when he recounted the early history of Reims, and then go on to place Almannus himself at a later point in the same history.[72] Almannus was trying to explain the origins of learned culture at Reims, or the origins of the ability to explain.

Despite the presence of a learned figure like Almannus, the last years of Hincmar's life were remembered as a time of crisis in which Viking and Magyar raids made the peaceful pursuits of culture fall into decline. The sense of emergency continued under Hincmar's successor Fulk.[73] During the reign of King Odo (888–98) 'the cruelty of the Norsemen grew, devastating the lands of the Franks'.[74] Odo and Count Baldwin of Flanders also threatened Reims, and Fulk proved himself to be a militarily competent ruler of his see, fending off all these threats for a time and refurbishing the city walls of Reims.[75]

When Fulk succeeded Hincmar as archbishop in 882, he had found the school for canons and the school for rural clergy in disarray. In 893 he sought to restore learning in Reims by bringing in two highly accomplished scholars, Hucbald of Saint-Amand and Remigius of Auxerre, each the representative of a major

[71] 'Legendi sedulitate scientie culmen studiis adquisivit': Almannus, *Vita Nivardi episcopi*, pp. 160–61.

[72] Flodoard, *Historia*, 2.7, p. 103 (on Nivard, following Almannus); 3.28, p. 357 (regarding 'Altmanno monacho atque presbitero').

[73] G. Schneider, *Erzbischof Fulco von Reims 883–900 und das Frankenreich* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1973).

[74] 'Grassante Nordmannorum crudelitate terrasque Francorum vastante': Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 400.

[75] McKitterick, 'Carolingian Kings', p. 230.

school, able to bring considerable expertise along with their own traditions.[76] That Fulk was able to secure the help of these men for Reims was a genuine coup: Hucbald was a pre-eminent exponent of Carolingian reform ideal, with its focus on the reform of schools, the correction of books, and the reform of chant; Remigius, for his part, was a master of the traditional liberal arts. Let us look at each man in turn.

Hucbald (*c*. 840–930) was a scholar of wide interests ranging from musical theory and composition to commentaries and hagiography. He was a monk of Saint-Amand, where he studied under the learned poet and grammarian Milo. Milo (*c*. 810–*c*. 872), in turn, was the author of a book on the virtues, the *Librum sobrietatis*, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald. The relations between the court and the school of Saint-Amand were close. Milo, for example, had been put in charge of the early education of Charles's sons Pepin and Drogo. He wrote a life of St Amand, the founder of his monastery in Elnone (near Lille). Hucbald likewise dedicated a rather fussy poem to Charles, each word of which began with the letter C.[77] The school of Saint-Amand thus sought to express its close relations to the court. When Milo died in 871 or 872, Hucbald succeeded him as master of the school at Saint-Amand.

As mentioned earlier, the library of Reims held few works of Greek and Roman antiquity in the time of Hincmar. It has been described as a business-like collection, and the business was legal struggle and the context of contemporary events and royal power.[78] The monastery of Saint-Amand, on the other hand, was far more oriented towards classical scholarship. According to a library catalogue for the period of Milo and Hucbald, Saint-Amand was unusually well supplied with such works: Macrobius, Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Sallust, Aristotle's *Categories*, Cicero, Donatus, Juvenal, Lucan, Terence, and Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics* rested beside Boethius and Cassiodorus.[79] In the twelfth century a shelf list of books written by Hucbald, or which he had copied, shows the range of his interests. Here his own works of music and hagiography (*Passio SS. Cyrici et Iulittae martyrum*, written sometime before 900) were complemented by 'A

[76] Marlot, *Histoire*, II, 673–75.

[77] For Hucbald's writing, one may usefully refer to Julia M. H. Smith, 'The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 35 (1995), 517–42.

[78] Carey, 'Scriptorium of Reims', pp. 43–44.

[79] Yves Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand: Les compositions et le traité de musique*; Cahier d'études médiévales, cahier spécial, 5 (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1995), pp. 337–40.



Figure 4. Panel of a Ninth-Century Book Cover, Bas-Relief in Gold Repoussé, in the Louvre Library; from Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance*, rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 373.

Letter of Hincmar on Ecclesiastical History', Hraban Maur's *Super Genesim*, Martianus Capella, and Plato's *Timaeus* with the commentary of Chalcidius.[80] One can detect in these lists a certain interest in Platonism and neo-Platonism. This would fit with Chartier's suggestion that Hucbald might have left the school of Milo at a certain point because of his desire to learn Greek, perhaps with John Scotus Eriugena, then directing Charles the Bald's palace school.[81]

The monastery of Saint-Amand had its own historical tradition, as expressed, for example, in the *Annals of Saint-Amand*.[82] Although best known for his musical works, Hucbald also had historical interests, producing a number of saints' lives. He wrote a *vita* of Rictrude, for example, in which his elegant Latinity and love of scholarship were on display. In the prologue he directed his work to the attention of other scholars,[83] presenting it as a deliberate attempt to overcome the destructive impact of the Norsemen on scholarship.[84] Historical and ethnographic interests were meanwhile uppermost in his *Life of Lebuin*, with its detailed information about the Saxons whom Lebuin had attempted to convert.[85]

Remigius (*c.* 841–*c.* 908) was also a major exponent of another important school, that of Auxerre, with its impressive succession of teachers spanning the ninth century: Murethach, Haimo, Heiric, and Remigius himself.[86] Remigius wrote a commentary on Martianus Capella[87] and on the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius.[88] His master at Auxerre, Heiric, was a disciple of John Scotus

[80] Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald*, pp. 335–37.

[81] Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald*, p. 8.

[82] P. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand* (Brussels: Commission royale d'histoire, 1937).

[83] *Vita Rictrudis sanctimonialis Marcianensis auctore Hucbaldo*, *Prologus*, ed. by B. Krusch and W. Levison in MGH SSRM, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1913), pp. 91–94.

[84] 'Haec quae referebant eadem olim tradita litteris fuerint, sed insectatione Northmannicae depopulationis deperierint' ('The things reported here were once handed down in writings, but they have been lost because of the invasion and plundering of the Northmen'): Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis*, p. 93.

[85] *Vita S. Lebuini*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1829), pp. 360–64.

[86] John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[87] *Remigii Autissiodorensis commentum in Martianum Capellam*, ed. by Cora E. Lutz (Leiden: Brill, 1962–65).

[88] Diane K. Bolton, 'Remigian Comments in the Consolation of Philosophy and their Sources', *Traditio*, 33 (1977), 381–93.

Eriugena. He wrote a metrical life of St Germanus, patron of Auxerre, that was accompanied by glosses drawn from Eriugena's *Periphyseon*.[89] Later scholars at Auxerre devotedly recorded the scholarly lineage of Remigius in the margins of a copy of Remigius's commentary on the *Opuscula Sacra* of Boethius: 'Heiric was the teacher of Remigius' (*Eiricus fuit Remigii praeceptor*).[90] In a copy of the pseudo-Augustinian *Categoriae decem*, a lineage is given for a gloss: 'Heiric the teacher of Remigius made these glosses.'[91] Thus the chain connecting teacher to teacher was carefully recorded, and was thought to shed further light on the explanations of the gloss. Here we have a further example of a tradition of explanation.

Remigius succeeded his mentor Heiric as master of the school of Auxerre in 876. By the time Fulk called him to Reims in 893 he was already an accomplished philologist and grammarian, the author of commentaries on biblical, classical, and philosophical works.[92] Like Hucbald of Saint-Amand, therefore, he was in a position to elevate some disciplines that had not been stressed in Hincmar's Reims. A survey of Remigius's work reveals the range of these interests: commentaries on Genesis and Matthew, his enormously influential Psalms commentary, his *Expositio Missae*, and a commentary on the works of Boethius. He wrote commentaries on grammatical works both ancient and medieval: Donatus, Priscian, Phocas, and Bede. In addition to Martianus and Boethius, he also commented on Arator, Persius, Sedulius, Juvenal, and Virgil.[93] The scriptorium of Auxerre supported such work, producing many classical texts in the second half of the ninth century.

To revive the cathedral school of Reims, therefore, Fulk had called upon two of the foremost intellectual centres of the late Carolingian world. Both Auxerre and Saint-Amand were centres of grammatical expertise and knowledge of the classics. Something else shared by these schools, and their scholars, was the closeness of their traditions to the court of Charles the Bald. In the happy phrase of Janet Nelson, the court 'was a frame of mind': one could be in touch with the

[89] Édouard Jeauneau, 'Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 353–70.

[90] As reported by Colette Jeudy, 'Notice biographique', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 459–60.

[91] Jeauneau, 'Heiric d'Auxerre', p. 355.

[92] Cora Elizabeth Lutz, *Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century* (Hamden: Archon, 1977).

[93] Colette Jeudy, 'L'Oeuvre de Remi d'Auxerre: État de la question', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 373–97.

palace and orient oneself towards it even when distant.[94] This was equally true of the palace school and its impact on monasteries and schools around the kingdom that were connected with it, usually by training and individual scholars.

The tone of the palace school was set by the dominance there of John Scotus Eriugena, the witty and brilliant Irish scholar. Remigius of Auxerre, Hucbald of Saint-Amand, and Almannus of Hautvilliers all read and used Eriugena's *De Divisione naturae*, written between 864 and 866.[95] Eriugena had been placed at the head of Charles the Bald's palace school sometime before 847, where he had joined with Hincmar in the battle against Gottschalk. One further connection to the see of Reims can be mentioned. Eriugena, in his *Expositiones super ierarchiam caelestem sancti Dionysii*, translated and commented on the *Celestial Hierarchies* of pseudo-Dionysius, a work that had first been translated into Latin by Hilduin, Hincmar's teacher at Saint-Denis. The influence of Eriugena was pervasive at Auxerre.[96] The Irish scholar also wrote annotations on Martianus Capella and commentaries on Boethius. These concerns of Eriugena were closely emulated by Remigius of Auxerre, who also wrote commentaries on Martianus Capella and Boethius, as mentioned earlier.[97]

It is impossible to say whether the young Flodoard began his studies as a child under Remigius and Hucbald in the renovated school of Reims. He recalled Remigius as a master of rhetoric and the other liberal arts, placed in charge of the younger clerics, and 'set them to meditate on wisdom and reading'.[98] Hucbald of Saint-Amand he recalled as an erudite philosopher, illuminating the school of Reims with noble doctrine.[99] As for his own early education, he mentions someone named Gundacer as his *nutritor*.[100] To Flodoard, Fulk's episcopacy was a period of restoration and a return to religious and cultural norms in the face of political disasters and the threat of Viking raids. So closely associated with the

[94] Nelson, 'History-Writing', pp. 438–39.

[95] René Roques, 'Jean Scot (Érigène)', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, 11 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932–95), VIII (1972), 735–61.

[96] Claudio Leonardi, 'Une école au carrefour de la culture carolingienne', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 445–53.

[97] René Roques, *Libres sentiers vers l'érigénisme*, Lessico intellettuale europeo, 9 (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1975).

[98] 'Lectioni ac meditationi sapientie operam dedit': Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 402; see also Marlot, *Histoire*, p. 674.

[99] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 402.

[100] Sot, *Un historien et son église*, p. 46.

Carolingian cause, Reims seemed destined to share the fate of the last Carolingians during the crisis of the tenth century.[101] After the death of King Odo in 898, Fulk encouraged the Carolingian Charles the Simple to resist the effort of Count Baldwin II of Flanders to take control of the monastery of Saint-Vaast. Count Baldwin had Fulk assassinated, suffering no ill consequences for his shocking act. Perhaps it can be said that the pressure of Viking raids gave an aggressive edge to the political climate, while fierce competition for rank and property encouraged scepticism towards traditional pieties.

It was a tragic moment, and led to the break-up of the illustrious school Fulk had assembled. Both Remigius and Hucbald went off to teach in Paris. There Remigius taught Odo, the future Abbot of Cluny (927–42), drawing a new line between the Carolingian ideals of the cathedral schools of Auxerre and Reims and yet another important cultural and historical force, the future Cluniac reform.[102]

Flodoard (c. 893–966): The Epic of Reims

But it was under Fulk's successor, Archbishop Heriveus (900–22), that Flodoard would come to maturity and begin his historical writing. Like his predecessor Fulk, Heriveus was an intense competitor in the field of politics and staunch defender of Reims.[103] Flodoard was born in 893 or 894, perhaps in Épernay. He was educated in the cathedral school as re-established by Remigius and Hucbald, but certainly it was Hincmar who became Flodoard's hero and intellectual model.[104]

Flodoard went on to compose two major historical works, the *Annals* and the later *History of the Church of Reims*. Flodoard maintained the *Annals* for much of his life, from about the age of 25, in 919, until his death in 966. These writings display his knowledge of authors such as Livy, Caesar, Sallust, and Eutropius, and thus the prominence of classical studies at Reims.[105] Knowledge of the

[101] See the account in Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 310–13.

[102] Jeudy, 'Notice biographique', pp. 459–60. See Johannes, *Vita S. Odonis* 1.3 and 1.19, *PL* 133, cols 43–86 (cols 45 and 52); and the edition in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. by M. Marrier and A. Duchesne (Paris: Sumptibus Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1614; repr., Macon: Protat, 1915), pp. 13–56.

[103] Gerhard Schmitz, 'Heriveus von Reims (900–922): Zur Geschichte des Erzbistums Reims am Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts', *Francia*, 6 (1978), 59–105.

[104] For a sketch of Flodoard's life, see Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 44–53.

[105] *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. by Ph. Lauer (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1905), Intro., p. xiv.

classics was a mark of erudition. Unlike Hincmar, whose annals served to defend his own honour as the Archbishop of Reims and to record every misstep of the powerful, Flodoard's *Annals* form a brooding record of severe and often brutal events surrounding the Bishops of Reims and their involvement in the political struggles of their day.

An anxious, urgent tone of the annals is announced with accounts of raids of Norsemen and Hungarians from the very beginning.[106] In the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, Hincmar followed the historical methods of the *Royal Frankish Annals* by using a narrative style in place of the clipped, unreflective statements of the traditional monastic annals. This is even more pronounced in the case of Flodoard's *Annals*.[107] The 'poetry' of the earlier annal form was here turning into the 'prose' of a more narrative record, with long entries from year to year and with the pursuit of certain stories over many years.

Flodoard thus stands apart from contemporary writers of annals in his continued interest in royal affairs and in looking past the horizon of his region, even though his information is sometimes limited. Other annalists of the period reflect much more the *'compartimentage territorial'* of the tenth century.[108] Indeed, according to Georges Duby, annalistic writing became more limited and scarce approaching the year 1000.[109] With Flodoard this took the form of recording the deeds of the Bishops of Reims as they undertook to defend the Church's property, as did Heriveus in untangling some disputed benefices in 920.[110]

It was Bishop Heriveus who had recognized Flodoard's talent, and as a result the Bishop's own deeds were carefully compiled in Flodoard's *Annals*, his involvement in property disputes and his participation in councils carefully recorded, and also his association with kings. Flodoard also included in his account a record of the deeds of the suffragan bishops of Tongres and of Sens, the great competitor of Reims. His annals would also serve Flodoard as a basis for his later historical writings. The *Annals* of Flodoard do not have the calm, reflective, and didactic tone of Hincmar's annals, but are a more anxious record of dangerous events. These are the wary observations of a minor participant, watching with interest or alarm the involvement of Reims in the political struggles of the last

[106] *Annales de Flodoard*, annal 919, p. 1.

[107] Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 85–102.

[108] Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France', p. 807.

[109] Georges Duby, *L'an mil* (Paris: Collection 'Archives', 1967), p. 18.

[110] *Annales de Flodoard*, annal 920, p. 2.

Carolingians, the Robertians and the Counts of Flanders, the outcome of which Flodoard could not see or predict. These *Annals* are thus more private than those of Hincmar. There was little prospect that this young canon of Reims cathedral would educate the king.

Perhaps drawing upon some earlier *gesta* of the church of Reims, but certainly making extensive use of the archives and letters left behind by Hincmar, Flodoard composed his *History of the Church of Reims* in four books which told the story of the city and its bishops from the age of Remigius to his own time.[111] According to Rosamond McKitterick, faced with a series of bishops who tended to be military and political figures more than religious men, Flodoard took as his hero the corporate identity of Reims in which success meant the acquisition and defence of church property.[112] But this analysis would seem to reduce the meaning of Flodoard's text. One should additionally consider Flodoard's *History* as a formulation of the memory of Reims. The life of St Baldric, for example, recorded in Book Four, tells of the founding of the monastery of Saint-Germain in Montfaucon.[113] The places associated with St Baldric are explained as part of the archaeology of the current monuments of Reims.[114] Baldric thus takes his place in what I earlier called the 'historical world of Reims'. The tale of Baldric could only be recounted with the help of an older life of the saint in the library of Reims, thus bringing together traditions of explanation, monuments, and texts.

Hincmar's role as a model and mentor for Flodoard is very clear in this work, and also for the preparatory work that is evident in it. Hincmar had greatly enlarged the library and archives of Reims and had shown how valuable such records could be in historical research. He also vastly enlarged the library and archives with the records of his own active episcopacy and of course with his own collection of books. This was also the case with the works of Almannus, whose lives of Nivard and Sindulf Flodoard could draw upon in the same way. It may well have been Flodoard himself who made sure that the practice of compiling and ordering the documents of each successive episcopal reign was continued after Hincmar. Thus the letters, acts of councils, and charters of Bishops Fulk

[111] Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France', p. 815.

[112] Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Church', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III: *c.900–c.1024*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 130–62; see esp. pp. 146–48.

[113] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.38–40, pp. 439–41.

[114] For example, 'ubi nunc habetur altare in honore sancti Petri apostoli' ('where it now is held at the altar dedicated to St Peter'): Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.39, p. 440.

and Heriveus were ready to hand when Flodoard wrote his history.[115] A dossier of such materials, seemingly compiled to illustrate the rule of Bishop Heriveus, made its way into the Vatican Library.[116] The assassination of Fulk in 900 may have impressed on Flodoard's mind that the continuity of the see of Reims could not rely on individuals, but rather only on the greater historical purpose of the city and its preserved memory.

The *History of the Church of Reims* is largely a record of the Bishops of Reims, and yet the model of the *Liber pontificalis* and similar *Gesta episcoporum* would not serve for a work whose aim was also to encompass neighbouring bishoprics and monasteries under the umbrella of an archiepiscopal see.[117] This larger vision, which builds directly on the achievement of Hincmar, might be called the 'Epic of Reims', especially by connecting Reims to the larger scene of royal power. The view could be quite extensive from the library of Reims. Here Flodoard could find letters from Archbishop Fulk to Charles the Simple and King Odo. Here was a letter to King Alfred, to congratulate and thank the Anglo-Saxon king for appointing a good and devoted man to the see of Canterbury.[118] The historical achievement of Reims was impressive, especially as the theme of the church's royal character was carried across the dangerous gulf between the last Carolingians and the rise of Hugh Capet. Flodoard was able to convey much of this story, and thus we are able to see how Reims, as a centre of historical learning and a repository of memory, could help establish the coherence of the Carolingian past with the Capetian present.[119] The legend of the 'anointing of King Clovis' proved durable and convincing as a symbol for concepts of kingship under the Capetians as well.[120]

When Hugh Capet was crowned by Adalbero of Reims in 975, the city was thus assured of a continued role as a centre of royal and episcopal contact and cooperation. Meanwhile the new line of kings found a stable and eminently suit-

[115] Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 157–65; for Heriveus, p. 219.

[116] R. H. Bautier, 'Un recueil de textes pour servir à la biographie de l'archevêque de Reims Hervé (X^e siècle)', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age*, ed. by Perrin, pp. 1–6.

[117] Reinhold Kaiser, 'Die Gesta episcoporum als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Scharer and Scheibelreiter, pp. 459–79.

[118] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.5, p. 386.

[119] Le Goff, *Reims*, pp. 24–25.

[120] Philippe Gabet, 'Constantin et Clovis, développements et transformations rémois aux IX^e et X^e siècles', in *Clovis, histoire et mémoire*, dir. by Michel Rouche, 2 vols (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), II, 73–81.

able place in which their memory could be laid down. Flodoard's account also allows one to see clearly the continued pre-eminence of Reims and how it had been defended and secured, from the old battles of Hincmar with his nephew Hincmar of Laon[121] to the exchange of letters on this topic between Fulk and Pope Stephen VI.[122] Flodoard's living teachers, the literary and historical traditions of the cathedral school, and the established cathedral archive and library all worked together to the benefit of Flodoard's achievement. They also offered this learned cleric a means of orientation (from the library of Reims looking outward) in a world where the cathedral city and its clerics were often threatened.

Richer (950/960–c. 998): Personal History in an Epic Context

Born sometime between 950 and 960, Richer studied with Gerbert of Aurillac in the recently renovated cathedral school and began his work while Gerbert was Archbishop of Reims (after 991).[123] At this point Gerbert was caught up in the ambiguous and dangerous political world of the Capetians and their counts, although as a notary of Hugh Capet, Gerbert had been close to the new dynasty at the outset.[124] Fulk and Heriveus had also served as royal notaries, so such connections were something of a tradition at Reims and thus provided another connection to royal power.[125] Richer began his histories by signalling his knowledge and inheritance of (but also his independence from) the historical traditions of Hincmar and Flodoard.[126] Indeed, his *Histories*, written between 991 and 998, take considerable liberties with the past, not bound by chronology and no longer enduring the patient archival work of his predecessors.[127]

[121] See Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.21, pp. 269–86.

[122] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.1, p. 363.

[123] Though many of these basic biographical details have been questioned by Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also his essay in this volume.

[124] Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet*, pp. 20–21.

[125] Sot, *Un historien et son église*, p. 86.

[126] Richer von Saint-Rémi, *Historiae*, ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH SS, 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 2000), prologue, p. 35.

[127] Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers von Saint-Remi', *Deutsches Archiv*, 54 (1998), 445–532.

The historical writing of Richer, however, is an authentic part of the rich historical tradition of Reims, arising out of the repositories of memory in the Reims archive and library, now considerably deepened and ordered by the work of Flodoard to cover a span of many centuries. But Richer approached these repositories with a sense of freedom. He recorded the death of Fulk (in 900), but in doing so, made use of some phrases of Hincmar drawn from an entirely different context, an annal entry of 876.[128] The account is further transformed by Richer's desire to write with the brevity and tension of Sallust. In a similar vein, he recorded the accession of Hugh Capet, and thus continued the tradition of connecting Reims to royalty. Richer's Hugh Capet was a unifying figure, elevated as king in Noyon with the 'consensus of all' and later crowned in Reims, but the account is so compressed as to lack clarity.[129] Richer's procedure may seem to depart from the careful work of the earlier historians of Reims, who compiled their picture of the historical past while preserving and ordering its documents with a concern for authenticity. But Richer's writing also reflects the triumph and ease of a secure tradition: his sense of freedom in regard to the historical traditions of Reims and the confidence with which he combines the classical tradition with the writings of Hincmar and Flodoard are the mark of someone happily in possession of an intellectual tradition.

Richer preferred the bold, angular statement over simple recording. In this regard, Claudio Leonardi compares Richer to Liudprand of Cremona (*c.* 920–72) because of his similarly idiosyncratic, personal approach to the past. With a customary flourish and oblique classical reference, Richer commends Flodoard's *History of the Church of Reims* to anyone who wishes to learn how religion has flourished in that city. He describes Flodoard's book as commencing 'from the founding of the city' (*ab urbe condita*) — the title of Livy's massive history of Rome — thus making at once a comparison between Flodoard and Livy, Reims and Rome.[130]

We can see here the effect of the revival of the school of Reims under Remigius of Auxerre and Hucbald of Saint-Amand with a greater level of classical knowledge and availability of classical texts than in the time of Hincmar. Richer was also the beneficiary of a further phase of renovation and promotion of learning under Archbishop Adalbero (969–89) in a Reims whose outlook was brighter

[128] Richer, *Historiae*, 1.17, pp. 53–55.

[129] Richer, *Historiae*, 4.12, pp. 239–40.

[130] Richer, *Historiae*, 1.19, p. 56.

than it had been since the time of Hincmar. He records that Adalbero reintroduced a rule for the cathedral canons, promoted the activity of the scriptorium, and began to build up the cathedral library in a way not seen since the days of Hincmar.[131] Gerbert of Aurillac, one of the most learned men of his day, was made master of the cathedral school and would later succeed Adalbero as Bishop of Reims. This Gerbert was Richer's teacher.[132] It is not surprising, therefore, that Richer was so eager to reveal his mastery of Sallust and Julius Caesar, as well as of Sulpicius Severus and Isidore of Seville.[133]

Richer thus followed his own path in taking part in the traditions of explanation offered by the historians of Reims, and wrote a deeply personal style of history. As we have seen, Hincmar and Flodoard were also quite distinctive in their approach to historical writing, and made the history of Reims serve as the orientation of their personal standpoint. Like Hincmar and Flodoard before him, Richer was engaged in establishing Reims as a repository of memory and a place where the history of the Frankish kingdom, especially the history of its kings, could be intellectually grasped and made secure.[134] For these reasons, the Carolingian, and later Capetian, kings willingly participated in the 'historical epic of Reims'.

Adhémar of Chabannes, a monk of Saint-Martial and a similarly idiosyncratic historian, offered a delightful and somewhat fanciful genealogy of thinkers (*translatio studii*) in which the teaching traditions of the great court scholars of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald were made to flow into the traditions of Auxerre and Saint-Amand:

> Rabanus of Mainz (Hraban Maur) the very learned monk who wrote under that emperor a very amazing book on the theology of the Holy Cross, was the teacher of Alcuin. Now Bede taught Simplicius, and Simplicius taught Hraban Maur; who was taken up from across the water by our lord Emperor Charles and made a bishop in Francia. He taught Alcuin and Alcuin educated Smaragdus. Smaragdus for his part taught Theodulph, Bishop of Orléans; Theodulph indeed [taught] Helias the Scot,

[131] Richer, *Historiae*, 3.24–30, pp. 181–84. For a fuller account of Richer's use of Flodoard's work than was possible at the time of the composition of this article, one might consult with profit Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*.

[132] Though Glenn suggests in the next article in this collection that it is possible Richer and Gerbert had a collegial relationship more than a master-teacher relationship.

[133] Bautier, 'L'Historiographie en France', p. 830.

[134] Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers', pp. 480–82.

> Bishop of Angoulême, Helias [taught] Heiric, and Heiric left Remigius and Hucbald the Bald as heirs of his philosophy.[135]

From there, as we have seen, this tradition flowed into Reims. Thus the historian Adhémar tried to imagine the relationship and origin of the great scholars of whom he knew as a single tradition coursing through time by solid connections.[136] At the end we find Remigius and Hucbald, representatives of the two school-traditions that made their way in 893 to Reims and her historians: such an admired chain of teachers and students could offer intellectual moorings in the present and a scholarly grasp of the past. The concept of a *translatio studii* could explain how knowledge and truth had come down through time and arrived in a certain place, although such imagined lineages were often anachronistic and inaccurate.[137]

The scholarly connection to teachers of the past was the source of the ability to know and explain things — including the truth about the past — in a tradition of explanation. This was the legacy of Hincmar: he had preserved and explained texts from the past in a way that made sense of the historical world of Reims, its monuments, and its scattered traditions. The royalist message of the Reims school helped explain the world of power and the role of Reims in history. These traditions gave Flodoard a place to stand when confronting a world so 'devastated with rapine and fire', as we read in the last, dire entry of his *Annal,* for the year 966.[138]

[135] 'Imperatori ipsi porrexit librum valde mirabilem de theologia sanctae crucis Rabanus Magnentius, monachus doctissimus, magister Alcuini. Beda enim docuit Simplicium, et Simplicius Rabanum, qui a transmarinis oris a domno imperatore Karolo susceptus est, et pontifex in Francia factus, Alcuinum docuit, et Alcuinus Smaragdum imbuit, Smaragdus autem docuit Theodulfum Aurelianensem, Theodulfus vero Heliam Scotigenam Engolismensem episcopum, Helias autem Heiricum, Heiricus Remigium et Ucbaldum Calvum monachos heredes philosophiae reliquit': Adhémar of Chabannes: *Ademari Historiarum Libri III*, ed. by G. H. Waitz in MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), 3.5, p. 119.

[136] On Adhémar, see remarks and bibliography in Edmond-René Labande, 'L'Historiographie de la France de l'ouest aux X^e^ et XI^e^ siècles', in *La Storiografia altomedievale*, II, 751–91.

[137] Louis Holtz, 'L'école d'Auxerre', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 131–46 (p. 131).

[138] 'Et ipse comes loca quaedam ejusdem episcopii cum suis pervadens, rapinis incendiisque devastat' ('And the count with his men attacks and devastates with rapine and fire certain of the bishop's properties'): *Annales de Flodoard*, annal 966, p. 158.

Appendix

Archbishops of Reims (800–1000)

Tilpin (*c.* 753–*c.* 800)
Vulfarius (804–816)
Ebbo (816–845)
Hincmar (845–882)
Fulk (*c.* 883–900)
Heriveus (900–922)
Seulf (922–925)
Hugh (925–932; 940–948)
Artoldus (932–940; 948–961)
Odalric (962–969)
Adalbero (969–989)
Arnulf (989–991; 996–1021)
Gerbert (991–995)



Figure 5. Statues of Emperor Otto I and Queen Edith in Magdeburg Cathedral, from Hans Herrig, *Das Kaiserbuch: Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Geschichte von Karl der Grosse bis Maximillian I* (Berlin: Rudolf Muchtenberger, 1889), p. 105.

Master and Community in Tenth-Century Reims

Jason K. Glenn

In the 990s, Richer, a monk at the monastery of Saint-Rémi just outside Reims, wrote and revised a history of conflicts among the West Frankish kings and magnates during the course of the tenth century.[1] His revisions are evident in his autograph manuscript, and they suggest that as he reworked his text he inserted several folios. Some of these folios fit uneasily within the political narrative he developed throughout the rest of the manuscript. In a series of four added folios, for example, he recorded the efforts of Archbishop Adalbero (969–89) to reform the religious and intellectual life in Reims.[2] These passages appear to have been written before the narrative into which they are fused and

The author wishes to thank the editors of this volume, William L. North, and Scott Bruce for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

[1] Richer von Saint-Rémi, *Historiae*, ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann as MGH SS, 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 2000); citations in the notes below refer first to the relevant book and chapters, then to the page numbers of this new edition. For Richer's literary and political concerns as well as references to thematic studies in which his work plays a prominent role, see W. Geise, *'Genus' und 'Virtus': Studien zu den Geschichtswerk des Richer von Saint-Remi* (Augsburg: Dissertations-Druck W. Blasaditsch, 1969); Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Richer von Saint-Remi: Studien zu einem Geschichtsschreiber des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1985); Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers von Saint-Remi', *Deutsches Archiv*, 54 (1998), 445–532; and Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[2] The manuscript is Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Hist. 5; this passage occupies fols 33^{v}–37^{r}: Richer, *Historiae*, 3.22–66, pp. 181–205. Here and throughout this paragraph, I summarize briefly findings originally published as Jason Glenn, 'The Lost Works of Richer: The *Gesta Adalberonis* and the *Vita Gerberti*', *Filologia Mediolatina*, 5 (1997), 153–90, and revised in appendix of Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*.

were probably once intended as part of a separate and autonomous text. They may even have been originally conceived as a continuation of the *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* written by Flodoard (d. 966), a canon at the cathedral during the previous generation who recorded the deeds of the Bishops of Reims from the establishment of the see to the middle of the century.[3] Whatever the case, after an elaborate description of Adalbero's renovation of the cathedral and reform of canonical and monastic life throughout the province, Richer reports, 'In order that he might live up to his *nobilitas* in all things, [Adalbero] sought usefully to instruct the children of his church in liberal studies'.[4] Richer then proceeds to offer an account of the life, pedagogical practices, and intellectual accomplishments of a man whom Adalbero recruited to Reims to teach at the cathedral school. This man was Gerbert of Aurillac, later known as Pope Sylvester II (999–1002). And these passages may well represent vestiges of a *Vita Gerberti* Richer had written and attached to the deeds of Adalbero before he inserted them into the manuscript.

According to Richer, Gerbert began his studies as a child at the monastery of Saint-Geraud in Aquitaine.[5] As Gerbert outgrew the intellectual resources available at the monastery, Count Borrell of Urgel brought him to Catalonia to study mathematics under Bishop Hatto of Vich. There, Gerbert probably discovered texts he would never have found in Frankish lands, that is, Arabic works on astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic.[6] In 970 he left Catalonia, never to return, going to Rome with Borrell and Hatto. When the Count and the Archbishop returned home, however, Gerbert remained behind in the service of Emperor Otto II, whom the Pope had alerted to Gerbert's abilities. It was probably while he was teaching the teenaged son of the emperor that Gerbert first met Adalbero of Reims. In 971 Adalbero had gone to Rome in search of papal confirmation of

[3] Flodoard von Reims, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. by Martina Stratmann, MGH SS, 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998). On Flodoard and his *Historia*, see most recently Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).

[4] 'Et ut nobilitati suae in omnibus responderet, ecclesie sue filios studiis liberalibus instruere utiliter querebat': Richer, *Historiae*, 3.42, p. 191.

[5] The following biographical sketch of Gerbert's life before his arrival in Reims is based principally on both the earliest and the most recent biographies of the luminary: Richer, *Historiae*, 3.43–46, pp. 191–94, and Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), esp. pp. 17–34.

[6] Richer notes Gerbert's familiarity with the abacus: Richer, *Historiae*, 3.54, p. 198. For a discussion of Gerbert and both Arabic studies and, above all, the *quadrivium*, see Uta Lindgren, *Gerbert von Aurillac und das Quadrivium* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1976).

privileges for the monastery of Saint-Rémi as a component of the ecclesiastical reforms he undertook when he became archbishop.[7] Adalbero seems to have been as impressed with Gerbert as Borrel, Hatto, the pope, and the emperor had been and sought to bring him back to Reims. In the following year, he sent his archdeacon Gerannus to Rome to represent him at Otto's marriage, and he probably charged him to recruit the bright young scholar to Reims. In any case, Gerbert took leave of the emperor and headed north to become Adalbero's secretary and to join the archdeacon Gerannus as a teacher at the cathedral school. As he was particularly skilled in the *quadrivium*, Gerbert's abilities must have complemented the archdeacon's talents in logic, the keystone of the *trivium*, for which Gerannus is said to have been particularly renowned.[8] Thus together, we might suppose, they offered students a complete curriculum in the arts.

Richer provides no details about Gerannus's teaching — he tells us only that the archdeacon had taught logic to Gerbert — but he does offer an extensive account of Gerbert's own teaching in all the arts.[9] He begins with a description of his teaching on the *trivium*. Gerbert had students begin their study of dialectic with Victorinus's translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Boethius's commentary on it. Then he explicated works of Aristotle that had been translated and commented upon by Boethius, namely the *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, and, finally, the *Topics*. He also had students read some of Boethius's own works on logic. But, according to Richer, before they moved on to the study of rhetoric, Gerbert instructed them to study texts from several genres in order to understand the art of oratory. He read and commented on the poetry of Virgil, Statius, and Terence; the satires of Juvenal, Persius, and Horace; and the history of Lucan. And when students had learned the modes of locution (*locutionum modis*), that is, grammar, they advanced to the study of rhetoric. Richer does not tell us what texts they studied, but it seems probable that the works of Cicero, Cassiodorus, and Martianus Capella were among them.[10] In any case, after they completed

[7] On which see Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*, chapter four.

[8] Of Gerannus, Richer, *Historiae*, 3.45, p. 193, says, 'Quo tempore G. Remensium archidiaconus in logica clarissimus habebatur' ('At which time G. (Gerannus) archdeacon of Reims was considered extremely famous in logic').

[9] Richer, *Historiae*, 3.45–54, pp. 193–99. This account has been used to sketch Gerbert's teaching on numerous occasions. See, for instance, the more elaborate accounts of Cora E. Lutz, *Schoolmasters of the Tenth Century* (Hamden: Archon, 1977), pp. 130–40; Hélène Gasc, 'Gerbert et la pédagogie des arts libéraux à la fin du dixième siècle', *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1986), 111–21; and Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac*, pp. 40–53.

[10] Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, pp. 132–33.

their study, Gerbert had the students debate before a sophist (*sophista*), as Richer explains, so that 'they would express themselves with such skill (*sic ex arte agere*) that it would appear that they speak without airs, which is an orator's greatest skill'.[11] Those disposed to study the *quadrivium* with Gerbert began with arithmetic and then moved on to music. Richer does not tell us terribly much about Gerbert's pedagogical techniques in these arts, and his brief discussion of geometry focuses on Gerbert's construction and use of the abacus. There Richer refers readers to a work Gerbert addressed to Constantine, then a master at Fleury.[12] Richer does, however, go into greater detail about astronomy, which Gerbert apparently taught with models he had constructed — one of the celestial sphere and another of the planets — and by showing his students the constellations and the movements of the stars at night.

Together, the passages outlined here represent an extraordinary account of the teaching of a single individual in the early Middle Ages. When compared to what little we know of other contemporary masters and schools, they suggest that Gerbert was an innovative, even unorthodox, teacher, one uniquely qualified to teach all seven of the arts.[13] And when read together with letters Gerbert wrote to friends and thinkers throughout Europe, they contribute to a picture of Gerbert as a man dedicated to intellectual inquiry and exchange, a thinker who shines as the great luminary of the tenth century. In this light, it is little wonder that scholars have developed a picture of education and learning in Reims in which Gerbert and his genius overshadow what may have been a vibrant and thriving intellectual community in its own right, even before Gerbert arrived. In other words, while Gerbert was perhaps a man of rare ability and talents, the nature of our surviving evidence — we have little more than Richer's account and Gerbert's letters — has perhaps led scholars interested in education and intellectual life in Reims to emphasize his particular genius and to treat the intellectual community as an extension of the great master's personality and interests.

Gerbert may well have left his mark on students and other thinkers who passed through Reims, but the following pages will attempt to redirect some attention to the community to which he belonged. They ask, implicitly, whether

[11] 'Ac sic ex arte agerent, ut preter artem agere viderentur, quod oratoris maximum videtur': Richer, *Historiae*, 3.48, p. 195.

[12] Published as Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Libellus de numerorum divisione*, in *PL* 139, cols 85–92. Münster-Swendsen discusses this Constantine in her article below.

[13] Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, pp. 129–33, and Gasc, 'Gerbert et la pédagogie des arts libéraux'.

the portrait of a master leading his disciples through a curriculum, as Richer has presented it, does justice to the intellectual landscape of Reims. And they suggest that the vibrant intellectual life of the community, which both pre-dated Gerbert's arrival and endured after he stopped teaching, was dependent on a number of factors, of which the teaching and learning of the community's masters was perhaps a necessary — or at least desirable — but not sufficient condition.

We know little about the school of Reims before the episcopacy of Hincmar (845–82). In the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Carolingian reformers sought to improve monastic and cathedral schools so that they would provide the clergy a basic and standard education throughout the empire.[14] What precisely that meant in Reims is difficult to say, but it appears that the teachers there made do with relatively few books; for when Hincmar became archbishop in 845, the library is said to have consisted only of a few dozen manuscripts. Hincmar established a scriptorium, and by the time he died in 882, the library had more than quadrupled in size.[15] In addition to a Bible, liturgical texts, and an extensive collection of canon law, the library had a modest assortment of commentaries on scripture, florilegia, and hagiographic texts; a handful of works by ninth-century authors; and, relative to these other genres, a large collection of patristic texts. The library was thus adequate for a basic training in the arts necessary for canons and priests to fulfil their pastoral duties. With its relatively small collection of literary texts and pedagogical manuals, however, it lacked the resources of other contemporary schools such as Laon and Auxerre, where advanced students worked with celebrated masters.[16] Students from Hincmar's schools thus went elsewhere to advance their studies.[17]

[14] For an overview and bibliographic orientation, see John J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995–2006), II (1995), 709–57.

[15] One may usefully supplement the description here of the Reims library with Moore's account in the previous essay.

[16] On Hincmar's school, see Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, Archévêque de Reims, 845–882*, 3 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1975–76), II, 1084–88. On the school of Laon, see John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850–930: Its Manuscripts and its Masters* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1978). On Auxerre, see *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre: De Murethach à Rémi, 830–908*, ed. by Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989). For a brief overview, see Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 57–64.

[17] In his polemic against his nephew Hincmar of Laon, Archbishop Hincmar of Reims alludes to the former's studies in Reims before he left for Laon: 'I, who kindly took up your education, [. . .] taught you letters through myself and through whomever I could find'; 'te

I speak of 'schools' here because there seem to have been two distinct schools in Hincmar's Reims, one for the canons of the cathedral and another for local and rural clerics.[18] Although we do not know when the schools were established and have no record of similar arrangements at contemporary cathedrals, such a plan was consistent with an ideal implicit in reforms of canonical life issued by Emperor Louis the Pious in 816: that is, that cathedral schools were to be reserved for the training of canons.[19] In any case, the schools of Reims probably disbanded in 882 when Northmen invaded the region and forced the community of canons to disperse and flee the city. But the ideal of the two schools seems to have been realized again during the episcopacy of Hincmar's successor Fulk (*c.* 883–900), who re-established both schools and sought to develop Reims as an intellectual centre of the sort that Laon and Auxerre had become.[20]

As Michael Moore elaborates in the previous essay, in the early 890s Fulk recruited to Reims Remigius of Auxerre (841–908), the master whose renown for grammar and biblical exegesis most likely attracted advanced students.[21]

benigne nutriendum suscepi [. . .] litteris per me et per quoscunque potui erudivi': Hincmar of Reims, *Opuscula et epistolae ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis*, *PL* 126, cols 279–648 (col. 437A). Sometime after Hincmar of Laon had died in 871, Hincmar of Reims recommended two deacons from his cathedral for study at Laon under the new Bishop Hedenulf (871–82): Flodoard, *Historia*, 3.23, p. 317.

[18] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, p. 401.

[19] M. M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), p. 65, n. 62, and p. 68, reads a passage from *Institutio canonicorum*, in *Concilia aevi Karolini, 742–817*, ed. by Albertus Werminghoff, MGH Concilia, 2.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1907), c. 135, p. 413, to suggest that the students of a community of canons must be separated from the other canons, but also that neither laymen nor clerics from outside the community may be trained with the students.

[20] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.8, p. 399; *Annales Bertini*, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. by Reinhold Rau (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1956–60), II (1957), 286.

[21] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, pp. 401–02. On Fulk, see Gerhard Schneider, *Erzbischof Fulco von Reims 883–900 und das Frankenreich* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1973). On Remigius and his works, see most recently Colette Jeudy, 'Remi d'Auxerre', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1935–95), XIII (1987), 338–43, and the following essays in *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon: Colette Jeudy, 'L'Oeuvre de Remi d'Auxerre: État de la question', pp. 373–97; Burton Edwards, 'In Search of the Authentic Commentary on Genesis by Remigius of Auxerre', pp. 399–412; Petrus W. Tax, 'Remigius of Auxerre's Psalm Commentary and the Matthew Commentary Attributed to Him', pp. 413–24; Jean-Paul Bouhout, 'Pour une édition critique de l'*Expositio missae* de Remi d'Auxerre', pp. 425–34; Marcel Pérès, 'Remi et la musique', pp. 435–42. For the dates of Remigius's presence in Reims, see Sot, *Un historien et son église*, p. 63.



Figure 6. Painted Initial Letter from Ninth- or Tenth-Century Gospel Book in the Royal Library, Brussels; from Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance,* rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 376.

Likewise, he brought to Reims Hucbald of Saint-Amand (*c.* 840–930), best known for his work in music and hagiography, from his highly regarded monastic school in Flanders.[22] Unfortunately, we know very little about the teaching of these men or even how long they were in Reims. Hucbald returned to Saint-Amand around the turn of the century, and sometime shortly after the death of Fulk, Remigius appears to have left as well.[23] We know even less about the schools of Reims in the decades after these men left, but we do know some of their students. Archbishop Seulf (922–25) is said to have studied under Remigius in Reims.[24] Abbot Hildebold of Saint-Mihiel and Archdeacon Blidulf of Metz, who became leaders of monastic reform in Lotharingia towards the middle of the century, may have studied under him, too.[25] But perhaps the greatest testimony to the school or schools Fulk resuscitated is Flodoard himself. Whether he was a student of Remigius or Hucbald is impossible to say, but his erudition is evident not merely in his *Historia* (*c.* 952), mentioned above, but also in his *De Triumphis Christi* (930s); a quasi-historical sketch of the Church in Palestine, Antioch, and Italy, it consists of 20,000 lines of hagiographical verse.[26] It is difficult to imagine such a text was developed in an educational vacuum and is more reasonable to suppose that the intellectual community cultivated by Fulk remained vibrant even after the departure of Remigius and Hucbald.

[22] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.9, pp. 401–02. On Hucbald and his works, see most recently Julia M. H. Smith, 'The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 35 (1995), 517–42, and 'A Hagiographer at Work: Hucbald and the Library of Saint-Amand', *Revue bénédictine*, 106 (1996), 151–71; see also Franz-Josef Konstanciak, 'Hucbald von Saint-Amand', in *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Artemis Verlag, 1991), V, 150–51.

[23] Smith, 'Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand', p. 518, and Jeudy, 'Remi d'Auxerre', p. 338.

[24] Flodoard, *Historia*, 4.18, p. 578.

[25] Sot, *Un historien et son église*, p. 66. See also E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France* (Lille: H. Champion, 1920–43), V (1940), 277 and 342. On Blidulf, see John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c. 850–1000* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 101.

[26] Peter Christian Jacobsen is currently preparing a new edition of the poem; in the meantime, see *PL* 135, cols 491–886. The text consists of three books on Palestine, two on Antioch, and fourteen on Italy. For a brief overview of the text on which my description is principally based, see Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 87–101; for a more substantial study of the text, see Peter Christian Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims: sein Leben und seine Dichtung 'De triumphis Christi'* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

The growth of the library in the first half of the tenth century supports this supposition.[27] The collection was augmented during the episcopacies of Fulk and his successors. Its strength remained its collections of patristic texts and canon law, but there was also an increasing number of original works produced by such ninth-century intellectuals as John Scotus Eriugena, Haimo of Auxerre, and the former masters of the school in Reims, Remigius and Hucbald. Their works supported more advanced studies in the liberal arts. The library may also have included medical texts, for Richer's work testifies to his training and interest in medicine, and there was certainly a growing number of pagan, early Christian, and more recent histories available for study, the traces of which are also evident in Richer's history.[28] The library would continue to grow while Gerbert was in Reims, but by the middle of the century the library and the cathedral schools in Reims seem already to have had adequate resources to keep students home for advanced study in the arts.[29]

[27] Here I follow Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 70–77.

[28] Richer's interest in medicine is evident throughout his history. He may have acquired his medical training somewhere other than Reims, but there is no way to know. In any case, this interest is most evident in his vivid and imaginative descriptions of the deaths of the key figures within his history: King Odo (d. 898), Richer, *Historiae*, 1.13, p. 49; King Robert I (d. 923), 1.46, pp. 79–80; King Rudolf (illness), 1.49, pp. 83–84; King Charles the Straightforward (d. 929), 1.56, p. 89; Count Herbert of Vermandois (d. 943), 2.37, p. 125; King Louis IV (illness), 2.99, 168; King Louis IV (d. 954), 2.103, p. 170; Archbishop Artoldus of Reims (d. 961), 3.14, pp. 177–78; Emperor Otto II (d. 983), 3.96, p. 222; King Lothar (d. 986), 3.109, pp. 230–31; King Louis V (d. 987), 4.5, p. 234; Archbishop Adalbero of Reims (d. 989), 4.24, p. 247; Count Odo of Blois (d. 996), 4.94, pp. 295–96; Duke Richard of Normandy (d. 996), 4.108, p. 307; King Hugh Capet (d. 996), 4.109, p. 308. For further discussion of Richer's interests in medicine, see L. C. MacKinney, 'Tenth-Century Medicine as Seen in the History of Richer of Reims', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55 (1934), 347–75. Richer's work similarly betrays his familiarity with both pagan and Christian works: Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers', pp. 482–85. Among other texts, the library would have included the works (or at least excerpts from the works) of Bede, Cassiodorus, Einhard, Eusebius, Eutropius, Hegesippus, *Liber pontificalis*, Orosius, Plutarch, Prosper of Aquitaine, Suetonius, Paul the Deacon, Porphyry, *Annales Fuldenses*, a variety of saints' lives, the works of Flodoard, and surely others whose manuscripts have disappeared. This list derives from that found in Sot, *Un historien et son église*, pp. 70–77. We might also suppose that the library contained the works of Caesar, Livy, and still others, since Richer drew on them in his work.

[29] On Gerbert's library, see Pierre Riché, 'La bibliothèque de Gerbert d'Aurillac', *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne offerts à André Tuilier*, 8 (1988), 94–103, and Florentine Mütherich, 'The Library of Otto III', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Peter Ganz, Bibliologia 4 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1986), II, 19–22.

The resources of Reims appear also to have attracted students and thinkers from elsewhere. A decade or so before Gerbert's arrival, the preceptor (and eventual abbot) of Fleury, Abbo, spent some time there. He had already mastered grammar, arithmetic, and dialectic and had been training students to read and to chant in the school of his own monastery for some time when he went to Reims, probably between 958 and 965.[30] But he did not go to teach at the school, at least not according to his biographer Aimo of Fleury, who says, 'he was seeking to add other arts to his talents, so he went to Paris and Reims, to those who taught philosophy. Under their guidance, he did indeed make a little progress in astronomy, albeit not as much as he had hoped'.[31] We do not know the identity of the man or men who taught him in Reims — is there any reason to suppose that there was only a single person who taught philosophy at that time? Nor do we know whom else he encountered during his time there or, for that matter, how long he stayed. We might nevertheless suppose that, as a man with advanced training in the arts, even if Abbo did not teach there, he likely engaged both students and teachers in discussion of texts they were studying. Indeed, if Gerannus was in Reims while Abbo was there, we can imagine that the two men skilled at dialectic would have discussed texts and their dialectical study with one another and with other members of the community — a community which, let us recall, included the learned Flodoard until his death in 966. In short, although we cannot say much in particular about the intellectual community of Reims in the middle of the century, it was vibrant enough to attract a learned *praeceptor* who would come to be recognized as one of the leading intellectual figures of his day.

The same should perhaps be said of the community in the late 960s and early 970s. Adalbero, who assumed the archiepiscopal office in 969, was educated at

[30] Patrice Cousin, *Saint Abbon de Fleury: un savant, un pasteur, un martyr à la fin du X^e siècle* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1954), p. 213, suggests that Abbo was in Reims between 958 and 965.

[31] 'Caeteras ingenio suo pergeret superadjicere artes. Quapropter Parisius atque Remis ad eos qui philosophiam profitebantur profectus, aliquantulum quidem in astronomia, sed non quantum cupierat, apud eos profecit': Aimo of Fleury, *Vita Abbonis*, *PL* 139, cols 387–414 (col. 390B,C). This final comment could suggest either that the teaching was not good enough in Reims, as Aimo may have meant it, or that Abbo had trouble following the advanced studies, which would be equally plausible, even for one as bright as Abbo.



Figure 7. Ninth-Century Miniature, St Matthew writing his Gospel, after a manuscript in the Bibliothéque de Bourgogne, Brussels; from Paul La Croix, *Moeurs, Usages et Costumes au Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1872), p. 557.

Gorze and reputed to be a particularly erudite man.[32] He seems to have brought with him from Metz his eponymous nephew who probably had already completed his basic studies. This Adalbero, better known to us as the notorious Bishop of Laon from 977 into the 1030s, likely studied some dialectic with Gerannus; he is said to have been a talented dialectician in his own right and has left to posterity a treatise on logic.[33] Apart from Gerannus himself, we do not know by name many men already in Reims who participated in or contributed to the intellectual life of the community before the Adalberos and Gerbert arrived. It seems likely, however, that, in addition to now-anonymous members of the religious institutions of Reims, Bishop Bruno of Langres probably began his studies before Gerbert's arrival.[34] And the man perhaps most frequently identified as a disciple of Gerbert may already have been a mature member of the community by 972, for as I suggest elsewhere, Richer could have been born anytime from the early 940s to the 960s and thus could have completed his studies by the time Gerbert crossed the Alps.[35] If so, it is perhaps more fitting to

[32] Of Adalbero's learning, Richer says that he excelled in knowledge of things human and divine; Richer, *Historiae*, 4.8, p. 235. Folcuin of Lobbes, *Gesta abbatum Lobiensium*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 58–59, describes Adalbero as the most learned archbishop in the area of Reims. And the author of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. by L. C. Bethmann in MGH SS, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), p. 465, refers similarly to Adalbero's *liberalis eruditio*.

[33] Of Gerannus, see note 8 above. Of his students, see below. Robert T. Coolidge, 'Adalbero, Bishop of Laon', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 2 (1965), 1–114 (pp. 8–11), suggests that Adalbero may have come to Reims for advanced study under the guidance of either of his two kinsmen who became archbishop, Odalric in 962 or Adalbero in 969. He notes suggestively that Adalbero's reputation in logic, the art in which Gerannus may have had a particular talent, and his use of materials not available in Laon make his study in Reims a more plausible suggestion. See also Contreni, *Cathedral School*, pp. 25–26.

[34] Ferdinand Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens: Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine, 954–991* (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1891), p. 115, notes that Bruno had been a canon at the cathedral before he assumed the episcopal office of Langres in 981 at the age of about twenty-five years old.

[35] We have no firm evidence for when Richer was born. Because scholars typically assume that he was Gerbert's student, his birth is often believed to be around 960. But it is certainly plausible, even likely, that he was born earlier. Indeed, his father was active in the service of Kings Louis IV and Lothar as early as the early 940s. If his father was mature then, there is no reason Richer could not have been born in the 940s. Moreover, as I indicate in Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*, appendix B, Richer may have been an associate of Adso of Montier-en-Der and may have known Abbo of Fleury, perhaps during his visit to Reims. If so, then Richer would more likely be their contemporary and would thus have completed at least most of his formal training before Gerbert's arrival.

think of Richer and Gerbert as contemporaries and even peers within the community rather than as master and disciple.[36]

In any event, it seems reasonable to assume that Reims must have been a particularly appealing place for a man with such a zeal for learning as Gerbert. So while his arrival and subsequent presence in Reims may well have enhanced that community and, ultimately, attracted even more students and thinkers to the city, his decision to go there in the first place suggests that the intellectual community had something to offer him as well. Let us not forget that Gerbert was probably only in his mid- to late twenties when he arrived, and even if his reputation preceded him, all indications are that he, like Abbo, came as much to learn as to teach.[37] Indeed, Richer tells us that upon Gerbert's arrival in Reims, he and Gerannus tried to learn from one another; that is, the archdeacon taught the learned young man dialectic and, in return, Gerbert taught him music and astronomy — apparently, Gerannus had more difficulty than did Gerbert.[38] It was only later, as he impressed Adalbero, that, Richer tells us, the Archbishop asked Gerbert to teach students in the arts.[39]

Many of the students whom Adalbero turned over to Gerbert may have already been members of the community, but others probably came to Reims to refine their studies, as Abbo of Fleury and Adalbero of Laon had once done. Indeed, according to Richer, as Gerbert's reputation grew, 'the number of students increased from day to day'.[40] Of what did the formation of these men consist? Did they experience the same course of basic and advanced training? Should we simply imagine them working their way through Gerbert's curriculum as described by Richer? Given our lack of source material, such questions cannot be answered as fully as we might like, but there is reason to think that teaching and learning was not exactly as Richer might have us believe.

[36] In addition to the potential closeness in age, in Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*, parts one and two, I present material that undermines some of the widely held assumptions about the supposed master-disciple relationship of Gerbert and Richer.

[37] Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac*, p. 18, suggests that Gerbert was born towards 945/50.

[38] 'A quo [Gerannus] etiam logice scientiam accipiens, in brevi admodum profecit. G. vero cum mathesi operam daret, artis difficultate victus, a musica reiectus est' ('Gerbert quickly progressed in his knowledge of logic during his studies with Gerannus. Gerannus, however, worked with difficulty at astronomy and was overcome, and he failed at music altogether'): Richer, *Historiae*, 3.45, p. 193.

[39] Richer, *Historiae*, 3.45, p. 193.

[40] 'Numerusque discipulorum in dies accrescebat': Richer, *Historiae*, 3.55, p. 198.

In the first place, we might well assume that Gerbert's teaching itself evolved during his time in Reims. In other words, Richer presents a static picture of his teaching, a snapshot of a seemingly mature or even ideal curriculum which may have only been true of the formal training for a short period of time, perhaps after years of development. Richer's report that Gerbert learned dialectic from Gerannus when he arrived lends credence to this hypothesis and suggests that his teaching of at least this subject, as described by Richer, required time to take shape. In any case, due to scanty evidence and to an inclination among both medieval and modern writers to draw, in retrospect, intellectual lineage that may never have existed, it is difficult to say in what capacity, if at all, many of those men identified as Gerbert's students — and there are dozens of prominent figures reputed to have been his students — actually studied with him.[41] Some of his supposed students were mature when Gerbert arrived and others were quite young when he left.[42] So, just as the content and approach of his teaching most likely evolved over time, we might suppose that when he arrived in Reims he taught those advanced students closer to his own age differently from those who came a decade later as his reputation grew and who were presumably significantly younger than he. In short, what it meant to study in Reims and with Gerbert would have been different for different people at different times. We should therefore be cautious not to let Richer's description of Gerbert's pedagogy overdetermine our picture of either teaching or learning within that community.

[41] This is not the place to discuss the relative merits of the identification of particular men as Gerbert's students. Let us simply note that, in contrast to Oscar G. Darlington, 'Gerbert the Teacher', *American Historical Review*, 52 (1947), 456–76, and Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, pp. 127–47, who are inclined to identify almost anyone with a connection to Gerbert or Reims as his student, Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac*, pp. 75–78, offers a somewhat more measured assessment. See also Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*, chapter three.

[42] On the one hand, there is Adalbero of Laon, who was probably already a mature student when Gerbert arrived and left for Laon shortly thereafter. On the other hand, Richard, Abbot of Saint-Vanne (d. 1048), and Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai (1012–51), were canons at the cathedral and may have begun their education before Gerbert's teaching days drew to a close; Gerard: *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, c. 7, p. 465; Richard: *Vita Richardi Abbatis S. Vitoni Virdunensis*, ed. by W. Wattenbach in MGH SS, 11 (Hannover: Hahn, 1854), c. 2, p. 281, and Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 8 (Hannover: Hahn, 1848), 2.1, p. 368. See also C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 59–60; John R. Williams, 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Eleventh Century', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 661–77; Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac*, p. 76; and Darlington, 'Gerbert the Teacher', p. 474.

In such a place populated by boys and men of various ages with various levels of learning and with diverse and particular interests and talents, meaningful intellectual exchange must also have taken place outside both the formal curriculum and the context of the master-student relationship. As the visit of Abbo suggests, even before Gerbert came, Reims appears to have been a place to which and from which intellectuals from west Francia and beyond might come and go to find books and people to support their continued pursuit of knowledge. Visits from men interested in books and ideas seem to have continued throughout the last third of the century. For instance, in Gerbert's letters we find frequent invitations he extended to friends and thinkers to visit him in Reims, and he often asked an invitee to bring along a copy of one book or another. It seems safe to assume that the arrival of visitors bringing books or hoping to read in the library's ever-growing collection — for Gerbert was also an avid book collector[43] — would engage students, masters, and other members of the community in discussions of specific texts and of the larger intellectual questions of the day. We know, at least, that Gerbert looked forward to such visits, for he encouraged some of them.[44]

Richer, however, tells us of one visitor whom Gerbert did not invite.[45] He reports that Ohtrich, once master at the prestigious monastery of Magdeburg in Saxony and then at Otto II's court, had heard that Gerbert offered a new way to divide up philosophy into subcategories. The division of knowledge was of particular interest to thinkers of the eighth and ninth centuries — apparently also of the tenth — and Ohtrich was curious to know more precisely Gerbert's approach.[46] He therefore sent a student to observe his teachings. This student seemingly misunderstood Gerbert's ideas or misrepresented them when he reported back to his own master. In any case, Ohtrich took issue with what he understood to be Gerbert's division of philosophical categories and challenged

[43] On Gerbert's book collecting, see Riché, 'La bibliothèque de Gerbert', and Mütherich, 'Library of Otto III', pp. 19–22.

[44] See, for instance, Letters 81 and 86 in Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Correspondance*, ed. by P. Riché and J. P. Callu, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), I, 192 and 203–05; and Letter 142, in Gerbert, *Correspondance*, II, 349–51.

[45] Richer, *Historiae*, 3.55–65, pp. 198–205.

[46] John J. Contreni, 'The Tenth Century: The Perspective from the Schools', in *Haut Moyen-Age: culture, éducation et société*, ed. by Michel Sot (Nanterre: Editions Publidix, 1990), pp. 379–87 (p. 386), suggests that questions over the divisions of philosophy, which dated back to late antiquity, remained important to thinkers in the eighth and ninth centuries.

him to defend it. In 980, therefore, the Emperor arranged a debate between the two, his prized court master and his son's former teacher, in what appears to have been a grand spectacle that drew a large audience to Ravenna. Many of those in attendance were students of Ohtrich, but when the debate was over, at least according to Richer, Gerbert had won over the partisan crowd and, 'illustrious, he returned to Gaul'.[47]

For our purposes, this episode is interesting not so much for what it tells us about the philosophical issues of the day, duly reported by Richer, or the intellectual acuity of Gerbert as for the excitement Richer's account suggests it generated and how ideas could circulate within and between communities. In this case, word of one person's ideas emanated out from his circle and inspired someone to send a student to learn about them. Whether the student actually understood Gerbert's concepts is not as interesting as the fact that he returned to his own community to share what he took from the experience. Might we assume that some members of Gerbert's entourage to Ravenna did likewise when they returned to Reims? Might they have engaged with others who had attended the debate, exchanged ideas and opinions, and then reported back at Reims what they had experienced and learned both in Ravenna and even en route to and from? Our knowledge of this debate may itself be the result of such a dynamic, for there is no reason to believe that Richer was among those from Reims who accompanied Gerbert. Perhaps he got the details from a community member who had gone to Ravenna. Or maybe it was related to him by the one man in attendance whom he identifies by name: Adso, Abbot of Montier-en-Der, a prominent thinker in his own right and someone who seems to have enjoyed close relationships with Adalbero and Gerbert.[48]

Adso may also have known Richer, for in a playful poem, a verse riddle of sorts inspired by a passage from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, Adso mentions a *praeceptor* Abbo and a *frater* Richer.[49] Whether this Richer is the

[47] 'In Gallias clarus remeavit': Richer, *Historiae*, 3.65, p. 205. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac*, p. 63, questions whether Gerbert actually returned to Reims or moved on directly to Italy. This question is somewhat secondary to our present concerns.

[48] Richer, *Historiae*, 3.57, p. 200. In the 980s, Gerbert requested manuscripts from Adso on at least two occasions and, in the second instance, invited him to Reims in such a way as to suggest that the Abbot had a longstanding relationship with Archbishop Adalbero: Gerbert, Letters 8 and 81, in *Correspondance*, I, 16–18 and 192.

[49] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, 13068, fol. 81. The poem has been transcribed and discussed by A. Vernet in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, section 4 (Paris:

historian from Reims is impossible to say, but it is certainly plausible, for apart from Adso's connections to Reims and the possibility that Richer was close in age to him and Abbo — perhaps the three met in Reims during Abbo's stay — Richer was known outside of Reims in at least one context: in another series of folios Richer added to his manuscript, he reports that one day in Reims, he bumped into a knight sent from Chartres by a cleric named Heribrand who wished to invite him to come to Chartres to study medical texts.[50] Richer tells us relatively little about his time in Chartres, but the invitation and the trip are consistent with the image of the intellectual community in Reims developed here — that is, one in which members of that community, students or otherwise, engaged in the intellectual life both within the city and beyond its walls. We can, in any case, suppose that Richer offered more detail of his study to members of his community in Reims than he does to us. More importantly, we can suppose that Richer was not unique, that other members of the community learnt from men elsewhere, brought back to Reims information and ideas, and thereby contributed to the intellectual development of the rest of the community.

It is for this reason that, in this essay, I have shied away from discussing teaching and learning in Reims in the restrictive terms of masters and their disciples. Even if their contributions are impossible to reconstruct, there are many people who must have contributed to intellectual life there. This number would include visitors, former students, or masters who stayed at Reims in some other capacity and continued to help to shape its intellectual life. Given their initiative in bringing leading thinkers to Reims and building its libraries, Adalbero and his predecessors in the see also made significant contributions to intellectual life from outside the classroom. And even if they never taught formally, we might well suppose that they also engaged with those thinkers and drew on the resources they helped to enhance. After he became archbishop, Gerbert himself, the great master of the tenth century, must have continued to participate in the community's intellectual life.[51] In a similar way, a mature historian like Richer, no longer a student per se when he wrote his history or travelled to Chartres — as we noted above, he might more reasonably be considered a peer of Gerbert

Imprimerie nationale, 1967–68), pp. 345–47, and in Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*, appendix B.

[50] Richer, *Historiae*, 4.50, pp. 263–64. The episode is inserted into Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Hist. 5, fols 49–53, together with Richer's account of the synod of Saint-Basle; on their insertion, see the epilogue to Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*.

[51] See also, Lutz, *Schoolmasters*, p. 145.

rather than one of his disciples — was intellectually active and, we might suppose, engaged with students and masters alike. As I have suggested elsewhere, there is every reason to believe that he shared his work with other members of the community.[52] And these men, in varying ways, would have been role models for younger members of the ecclesiastical community — men destined to hold high office, to teach, to study medicine, or to carry on the tradition of historical writing at Reims (or beyond).

In conclusion, this essay urges us to look into the shadow cast over the community by the towering figure of the master, to recognize that that community was vibrant before he arrived, and to acknowledge that it continued to be so for decades after his teaching drew to a close.[53] Intellectual life in Reims seems not to have depended on the particular talents of Gerbert or, for that matter, any single master. The school at the cathedral was a lively institution with a strong tradition and infrastructure, and it was set within a dynamic community.

In this light, Gerbert's contribution to the intellectual life of Reims seems both more varied and, at the same time, less singular than Richer's account would lead us to believe. We need not doubt that Gerbert was a man of keen intelligence, that he enjoyed a reputation which attracted students, or that his pedagogical approach and interests shaped significantly the community of Reims in the last third of the tenth century and perhaps beyond. But we should perhaps also acknowledge that he, along with others who lived in or passed through Reims, contributed to a dynamism which itself must also have shaped the experience of students both within and outside a curriculum of the sort described by Richer. Like the formation of students, the relationship between master and community cannot be adequately described by reference to a curriculum alone.

[52] Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century*, part three.

[53] Above, I make the case for the vibrancy of the intellectual life in the past. For the school in the beginning of the eleventh century, see Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 59–62; see also Williams, 'Cathedral School of Reims', pp. 661–67.

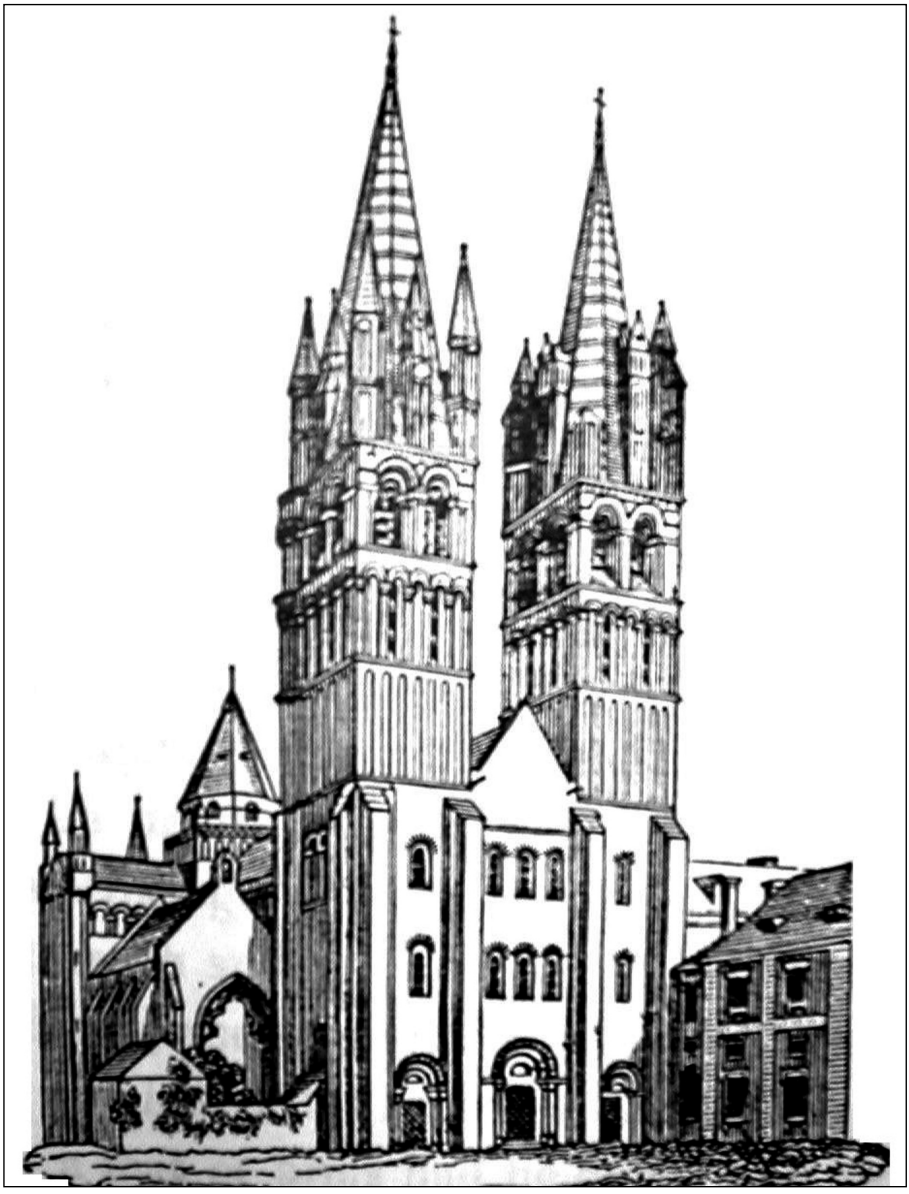


Figure 8. Saint-Etienne, Caen, the abbey church, from *Master Wace: His Chronicle of the Norman Conquest from the Roman de Rou,* trans. by Edgar Taylor (London: William Pickering, 1837), p. 277.

Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example

Priscilla D. Watkins

In 1063 William, Duke of Normandy, appointed Lanfranc, then prior of the abbey of Bec, as the first abbot of his new ducal foundation, the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen in central Normandy.[1] Duke William had chosen a monk whose reputation as an outstanding teacher and scholar was beyond dispute throughout Normandy. Orderic Vitalis would have his readers believe that until Lanfranc had crossed the borders into Normandy from his native Pavia, there was no person of learning in the entire duchy. Furthermore, it was from this Lombard, trained in civil law in Italy, that the Normans first learned the liberal arts.[2] Upon Lanfranc's arrival in Normandy he settled in the town of Avranches where he established himself as a teacher before he entered the monastic life at Bec.[3] Once at Bec, Lanfranc's skill as a teacher in philosophy and the scriptures was of such renown that he attracted students from all over Europe.[4] In addition to his scholarly teaching, Lanfranc possessed other praiseworthy qualities befitting an abbot. Orderic discerned in Lanfranc someone 'remarkably well-versed in the liberal arts, a man full of kindness, generosity, and piety, who devoted much time to alms and other good works'.[5] Similarly,

[1] OV II (1968), 146–47 and n. 2 for Chibnall's discussion confirming the 1063 date for Lanfranc's appointment to Caen. Lanfranc became prior of Bec *c.* 1047.

[2] OV II, 250–51.

[3] *Vita Lanfranci*, in *PL* 150, cols 29–58 (cols 29C–30B).

[4] OV II, 250–51.

[5] 'Liberalium artium eruditione affluenter imbutus; benignitate, largitate, et omni religione praeditus, elemosinis aliisque bonis studiis multipliciter intentus': OV II, 146–47.

William of Jumièges characterized Lanfranc as being 'of kind character and very religious and skilled in secular and worldly affairs'.[6]

Duke William also greatly admired Lanfranc, respecting him for both his knowledge and his holiness. The Duke had even admitted him into his closest circle of friends. In fact, William held Lanfranc in such high esteem that, according to William of Poitiers, he venerated Lanfranc as a father, respected him as a teacher, and loved him like a brother or son. William of Poitiers also said of Lanfranc that 'it was disputed whether he deserved respect and glory more for his remarkable knowledge of secular and divine learning or for his outstanding observance of the monastic rule'.[7] Thus Lanfranc, known for such sterling qualities, by all counts made an excellent choice for the tasks awaiting Saint-Etienne of Caen's first abbot.

Lanfranc himself was hesitant to accept this ducal appointment. According to William of Poitiers, Lanfranc's reluctance stemmed as much from his love of humility as from his fear of higher rank.[8] Lanfranc's own assessment of his suitability for this abbatial office may be seen some ten years after his appointment to Caen. In 1073, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc wrote quite self-effacingly to Pope Alexander II that, 'when William, Duke of the Normans, had removed me from the community at Bec, where I took the religious habit, and I was in charge of the monastery at Caen, I was unequal to ruling a few monks'.[9] Despite Lanfranc's own modesty regarding his appointment as abbot of Saint-Etienne, others also seemed to have endorsed Duke William's choice. William of Poitiers, for example, compared Duke William's actions to those of the fourth-century Roman emperor Theodosius. When faced with battling tyrants, Theodosius chose the monk John, from Thebaid in Egypt, who by obedience

[6] 'Moribus mitis et religiosus, et tam secularis quam spiritualis scientie peritissimus': *The 'Gesta Normannorum Ducum' of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, 2 vols, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992–95), II (1995), 148–49.

[7] 'De quo uenit in litem plusne sit meritus reuerentiam atque gloriam secularium ac diuinarum literarum singulari peritia, an ordinis monachici singulari obseruantia': William of Poitiers, *The 'Gesta Guillelmi' of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. by R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 84–85.

[8] William of Poitiers, *'Gesta Guillelmi'*, pp. 84–85.

[9] 'Cum de Beccensi congregatione in qua habitum religionis assumpsi a principe Normannorum Willelmo abstractus Cadomensi praeessem coenobio, imparque existerem paucorum regimini monachorum': Lanfranc, *Ep.* 1, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 30–31.

had gained the gift of prophecy, out of all the monks. Likewise Duke William took as abbot the capable and pious Lanfranc, who was redolent of the spirit of the Holy Ghost in word and deed.[10]

This essay will explore Lanfranc's multiple abbatial roles at Caen as teacher, theologian, and administrator as he set an example in building the fledgling Saint-Etienne community. It is one task to serve as the abbot of an existing monastery, but quite another challenge to have responsibility for the establishment of a new monastic foundation. In this respect Lanfranc's duties exceeded the traditional abbatial roles associated with governing a monastery. To this new position, he brought a twofold background that would serve him well: his training in civil law, the liberal arts, and scripture; and to complement this learning, he had the model of the Benedictine monastic tradition as taught and exemplified by Herluin, Lanfranc's abbot at Bec.

Certainly Lanfranc expected to continue his scholarly teaching in his role as Saint-Etienne's abbot, but equally significant for his work was the Benedictine ideal of teaching by example. While Lanfranc's teaching expertise and scholarship are well known, his practice of teaching by example has been insufficiently explored. In addition, setting forth an example of the lives of saintly individuals for the edification of others was a well-established genre for writers since the early Christian era, and biographers of eleventh- and twelfth-century Normandy also continued this tradition. The prologue to the *Vita Herluini* attested that those who wrote the lives of the saints and the Fathers might encourage their readers to 'pursue by their actions the example of good living put before them' and to 'let the descendants regard the footprints of their ancestors, which they ought to follow'.[11] Furthermore, Lanfranc's own biographer, drawing from the *Vita Herluini*, followed the same path in his prologue by recommending Lanfranc as a man who should be held up for imitation, whose life, when made known to all, would both honour God and benefit the readers.[12] Thus both

[10] William of Poitiers, *'Gesta Guillelmi'*, pp. 86–87. The reference to Theodosius is probably from Augustine's *City of God* 5.26, as Davis and Chibnall indicate in their edition of the *Gesta*, p. 86, n. 2.

[11] 'Et sibi exemplar propositum bene vivendi, actibus prosequerentur [. . .] et minores vestigia majorum quae sequi debeant aspicientes': *Vita Sancti Herluini*, *PL* 150, cols 695–714 (cols 695D–696C), for the Preface. For translation, see Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034–1136* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981), pp. 67–86.

[12] *Vita Lanfranci*, cols 29A–30A. See also Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, pp. 87–111, for translation. Although both these *vitae* were written after Lanfranc's death, teaching by example seems to have become a Bec tradition. See Vaughn's article on Anselm's teaching below.

Benedictine and Bec biographical traditions stressed the idea of holding up an example as a part of the learning process.

Before turning to Lanfranc's accomplishments at Saint-Etienne, an awareness of his deliberate reliance upon the *Rule of Saint Benedict* as the primary source for direction in all aspects of monastic life, including his teaching, is essential. Upon Lanfranc's entry into Bec, Abbot Herluin promptly presented to him a copy of the Rule,[13] thus impressing upon Bec's newest arrival the Rule's pivotal place in its own Benedictine monasticism. Although this occasion was possibly Lanfranc's introduction to the Rule, it served as a guiding beacon throughout the remainder of his life, whether as simple monk, prior, abbot, or finally, Archbishop of Canterbury. Any consideration of Lanfranc's life and work in each of these roles must take into account the centrality of the Rule in shaping his thoughts and actions.

St Benedict's Rule stipulated that, in every instance, all monks were expected to follow its teaching and that no one should rashly deviate from it. According to St Benedict, anyone who followed his own heart's desire rather than the Rule would be subject to its discipline.[14] The Rule required obedience and humility from each individual in all undertakings of the monastic life. Lanfranc's correspondence and other writings reveal the depth of his own immersion in these qualities. Themes of humility and obedience run throughout his letters and writings. Rather than being mere rhetorical devices or hollow phrases, Lanfranc's frequent references to humility and obedience underscore his thorough grounding in these two fundamental Benedictine teachings. When Lanfranc was wrestling over his nomination as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, for example, his decision to accept this high office for which he deemed himself unworthy stemmed from his high regard for obedience. In a letter to Pope Alexander II, he wrote that despite his plea of failing strength and personal unworthiness, he finally assented after the Pope had sent legates to Normandy. There, in the

[13] *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 31B,C.

[14] 'In omnibus igitur omnes magistram sequantur regulam, neque ab ea temere declinetur a quoquam. Nullus in monasterio proprii sequatur cordis voluntatem, neque praesumat quisquam cum abbate suo proterve aut foris monasterium contendere. Quod si praesumpserit, regulari disciplinae subiaceat' ('Accordingly, in every instance, all are to follow the teaching of the rule, and no one shall rashly deviate from it. In the monastery no one is to follow his own heart's desire, nor shall anyone presume rashly to argue with the abbot or outside the monastery. Should anyone presume to do so, let him be subjected to the discipline of the rule'): *The Rule of St Benedict*, abridged edn, ed. and trans. by Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), 3.7–10, pp. 28–29.

presence of a council of bishops, abbots, and magnates, Alexander II's envoys commanded Lanfranc by the authority of the apostolic see to acquiesce to the Pope's wish.[15]

According to Orderic, Lanfranc felt torn between two seemingly contradictory modes of existence: that of the contemplative life appropriate to a monk, or that of the public and active life of an archbishop.[16] Orderic adds that both the queen and his former Abbot Herluin, whom Lanfranc 'was accustomed to obey as implicitly as Christ',[17] had urged him to accept this position. Orderic continues that Lanfranc 'was unwilling to sin against obedience or to offend so many who were asking, urging, and imploring him'.[18] Whether Orderic's details were imaginary, as Chibnall suggests,[19] his report of Lanfranc's deference to obedience on this occasion further reinforces the portrayal of Lanfranc as a model of monastic behaviour. The vow of obedience may have truly weighed heavily upon Lanfranc, for in about 1072, not long after his appointment to Canterbury, Lanfranc wrote to Pope Alexander II stating that although he was still mindful of the duty of obedience, he had become tired and weary of the immense and frequently unpleasant duties associated with the oversight of the Church in William's newly won kingdom. As such, the discontented Lanfranc passionately but unsuccessfully entreated Pope Alexander II to release him from the burdensome responsibilities of this office and to allow him to return to monastic life.[20]

Lanfranc's adherence to the Rule as an authoritative source to determine a proper course of action in his counsel to others may be seen on several occasions. In the decree for the Council of London (1074), over which he presided as Archbishop of Canterbury in William the Conqueror's absence, he referred to the authority of the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Gregory's *Dialogues*, and the ancient custom of monasteries as guides to correct monastic behaviour, noting that these writings required monks to observe a proper mode of conduct and that children and younger monks needed to be under constant supervision. He also cited the prohibition against private property for monks found in these writings.[21]

[15] Lanfranc, *Ep.* 1, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 30–33.

[16] William North takes up similar themes in his article below.

[17] 'Cui obsecundare uelut Christo solebat': OV II, 252–53.

[18] 'Oboedientiam offendere cauet; simul tantos qui rogant, fauent, adhortantur': OV II, 252–53.

[19] OV II, 252–53, n. 2.

[20] Lanfranc, *Ep.* 1, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 30–35.

[21] Lanfranc, Item 11, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 74–77.

Apparently laxity in acceptable monastic behaviour and infractions pertaining to ownership of private property in England had become of such concern that Lanfranc had to address these issues in the provisions of this decree. In a letter to John, Archbishop of Rouen, in 1073, Lanfranc assured him that he had acted properly in the case of some rebellious monks. Lanfranc quoted directly from St Benedict, stating 'Blessed Benedict says in the *Rule for Monks*: "Obey the commands of the abbot in all respects, even if he himself does otherwise — may that never happen!"'[22] In another letter during the later years of his archiepiscopacy (1086–89), Lanfranc advised Maurice, Bishop of London, in an apparent dispute between the abbess and the prioress of Barking Abbey. He enjoined Maurice to intervene in the matter, directing that each nun behave as befitted her station as commanded by the *Rule of St Benedict*. Lanfranc further admonished that if these two continued in their discord with one another, they were to be subject to the discipline of the Rule.[23] Thus, Lanfranc's familiarity with the Rule and his adherence to it to govern not only his own conduct but also the institutions under his care is without question.

Let us briefly recall the Rule's main precepts for abbatial governance. The Rule quite explicitly delineates the proper characteristics befitting an abbot, for it stipulates in detail the qualities, role, and duties expected of a monastery's ruler. According to St Benedict, the person chosen to govern as abbot must be learned in divine law, be chaste, temperate and merciful, and exercise prudence and love in his dealings with those under his care. In this regard, the abbot is to strive to his utmost not to allow any one of his sheep to go astray. St Benedict

[22] 'Beatus Benedictus in *Regula Monachorum*: "Praeceptis," inquit, "abbatis in omnibus oboedire, etiamsi ipse quod absit aliter agat"': Lanfranc, *Ep.* 17, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 94–95. The quote is from *Rule*, 4.61, pp. 32–33: 'praeceptis abbatis in omnibus oboedire, etiam si ipse aliter — quod absit — agat, memores illud dominicum praeceptum: *Quae dicunt facite, quae autem faciunt facere nolite*' ('obey the orders of the abbot unreservedly, even if his own conduct — which God forbid — be at odds with what he says. Remember the teaching of the Lord: *Do what they say, not what they do*'). The final reference is to Matthew 23. 3.

[23] Lanfranc, *Ep.* 58, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 174–75. Disputes between abbot and prior must have been rather commonplace, even during Benedict's lifetime, for Benedict specifically addresses this problem in the Rule, which explicitly states that the prior should carry out whatever the abbot assigns and do nothing contrary to the abbot's wishes: 'Qui tamen praepositus illa agat cum reverentia quae ab abbate suo ei iniuncta fuerint, nihil contra abbatis voluntatem aut ordinationem faciens' ('The prior for his part is to carry out respectfully what his abbot assigns to him and do nothing contrary to the abbot's wishes or arrangements'): *Rule*, 65.16, pp. 134–35.

used here the example of the compassionate good shepherd who left the ninety-nine sheep to go in search of the one sheep who was lost.[24] Thus kindness and mercy outweigh harshness as a model of appropriate abbatial behaviour. Above all, the abbot must employ discretion and moderation in all his undertakings. In accordance with this precept, St Benedict directed that the abbot must above all keep the Rule in everything he did.[25]

Most importantly, many of St Benedict's instructions centre directly on the abbot's role as teacher. St Benedict stated that 'Goodness of life and wisdom in teaching must be the criteria for choosing the one to be made abbot, even if he is the last in community rank'.[26] Since the abbot is believed to hold the place of Christ in the monastery, 'the abbot must never teach or decree or command anything that would deviate from the Lord's instruction. On the contrary, everything he teaches and commands should, like the leaven of divine justice, permeate the minds of his disciples'.[27] St Benedict asserted that 'anyone who receives the name of abbot is to lead his disciples according to a twofold teaching: he must point out to them all that is good and holy, more by example than by words, proposing the commandments of the Lord to receptive disciples with words, but demonstrating God's instructions to the stubborn and the dull by a living example'.[28] Thus St Benedict admonished that it may be by example that the monastic community is best taught. Sometimes the most valuable lessons are

[24] 'Magnopere enim debet sollicitudinem gerere abbas et omni sagacitate et industria curare, ne aliquam de ovibus sibi creditis perdat [. . .] Et pastoris boni pium imitetur exemplum, qui, relictis nonaginta novem ovibus in montibus, abiit unam ovem quae erraverat quaerere' ('It is the abbot's responsibility to have great concern and to act with all speed, discernment and diligence in order not to lose any of the sheep entrusted to him [. . .] He is to imitate the loving example of the Good Shepherd who left the ninety-nine sheep in the mountains and went in search of the one sheep that had strayed'): *Rule*, 27.5, 8, pp. 72–73.

[25] 'Ipse tamen abbas cum timore Dei et observatione regulae omnia faciat' ('Moreover, the abbot himself must fear God and keep the rule in everything he does'): *Rule*, 3.11, pp. 28–29.

[26] 'Vitae autem merito et sapientiae doctrina eligatur qui ordinandus est, etiam si ultimus fuerit in ordine congregationis': *Rule*, 64.2, pp. 128–29.

[27] 'Abbas nihil extra praeceptum Domini quod sit debet aut docere aut constituere vel iubere, sed iussio eius vel doctrina fermentum divinae iustitiae in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur': *Rule*, 2.4–5, pp. 20–21. Also, 'Christi enim agere vices in monasterio creditur' ('He is believed to hold the place of Christ in the monastery'): *Rule*, 2.2, pp. 20–21.

[28] 'Cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet doctrina suis praeesse discipulis, id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam verbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini verbis proponere, duris corde vero et simplicioribus factis suis divina praecepta monstrare': *Rule*, 2.11–12, pp. 20–21.

those that are learnt inadvertently, rather than those intentionally taught in a structured setting. Subsequently Lanfranc, possessed of sound judgement and steeped in the Benedictine Rule, which he was required to observe, surely strove to govern the abbey at Caen in accordance with these principles, and Saint-Etienne of Caen, a newly founded ducal establishment, required a leader of extraordinary ability.

As abbot, Lanfranc both directed the daily life of this Benedictine monastery and engaged in his own prayerful and scholarly pursuits. Since Saint-Etienne was a new foundation, Lanfranc also assumed the work of assembling a monastic community by attracting worthy monks. Furthermore, he had to oversee the initial physical construction of the abbey's buildings as well as arrange transactions to acquire land from Caen's sometimes disgruntled inhabitants, who in some instances had probably been forced by Lanfranc to sell their holdings to the new abbey. In short, Lanfranc had to construct the new abbey at Caen from the ground up, always keeping in mind the expectations of the abbey's patron Duke William. Although Lanfranc spent only a scant seven years at Caen (1063–70), in the span of a lengthy career that culminated in his consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1077, his achievements there are quite remarkable. At Caen, unlike at Bec, Lanfranc alone was officially in charge of a very prominent institution, a ducal abbey. Lanfranc's leadership at Caen was seminal in his laying a solid foundation for Saint-Etienne's future and in training by example others associated with the abbey, who then assumed important positions elsewhere in the monastic and ecclesiastical world.

Yet Lanfranc's stay at Caen has been largely neglected by modern historians, who either skip this episode entirely, by moving Lanfranc directly from Prior of Bec to Archbishop of Canterbury, or minimize this stage's importance in his life by concentrating on his years spent at Bec and Canterbury. Neither A. J. MacDonald[29] nor Margaret Gibson,[30] the two major twentieth-century biographers of Lanfranc, give sufficient credit to Lanfranc's accomplishments at Caen. More recently, in his 2003 study on Lanfranc, H. E. J. Cowdrey only briefly mentions Lanfranc's time as Abbot of Saint-Etienne.[31] Although Lanfranc made

[29] A. J. MacDonald, *Lanfranc: A Study of his Life and Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926).

[30] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

[31] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Although Cowdrey recognizes Lanfranc as both a teacher and monk who faithfully observed the Benedictine rule, he does not elaborate on this topic. Cowdrey includes a separate chapter on Lanfranc as a teacher and scholar, but he does not address the Benedictine

his greatest mark as Archbishop of Canterbury, his stay at Caen is equally impressive. Sally Vaughn's excellent revision of Lanfranc's work at Bec[32] makes an important contribution in clarifying Lanfranc's early and formative years as monk and teacher; yet a study of Lanfranc's subsequent stay at Caen as the head of a religious house does not fall within the scope of her article. David Spear's admirable article about Lanfranc's successor at Caen, William Bona Anima,[33] provides a detailed account of the accomplishments of Saint-Etienne's second abbot, but neglects Lanfranc's role in providing favourable conditions for Abbot William to continue the work of moving forward this favoured ducal abbey, and indeed training him for it. Lanfranc's years at Caen formed more than a brief interlude between Bec and Canterbury, and consequently, his work at Caen requires fuller investigation. His accomplishments there possess an integrity of their own and should be viewed within their own particular context.

Lanfranc's tenure as Prior of Bec in many ways served as a training ground for the duties thrust upon him at Caen. As Prior of Bec, Lanfranc was to carry out respectfully whatever Abbot Herluin assigned him and to do nothing contrary to the abbot's wishes or arrangements.[34] According to the *Vita Lanfranci*, Abbot Herluin recognized and valued Lanfranc's teaching abilities and administrative talents to so great a degree that he committed to Lanfranc's care whatever was subject to the jurisdiction of the abbey, inside or outside the cloister.[35] Orderic relates that Lanfranc's fame as a teacher at Bec was of such significance that it attracted students from all over Europe. He also praised Lanfranc's broad range of knowledge not only in civil law and the liberal arts, but also in philosophy and the Bible. Thus, as a result of Lanfranc's outstanding teaching, scholars well-versed in both sacred and secular learning emerged from the school of Bec.[36] Clearly Bec's prominence as a desirable monastic establishment owed much to the work and teaching of its prior, Lanfranc.

The pattern of teaching and scholarship that Lanfranc had practiced at Bec continued at Caen as well. Duke William's establishment of Saint-Etienne there

precept of 'teaching by example' in the broader context of Lanfranc's career as prior, abbot, or archbishop.

[32] Sally N. Vaughn, 'Lanfranc at Bec: A Reinterpretation', *Albion*, 17 (1985), 135–48.

[33] David S. Spear, 'William Bona Anima, Abbot of St Stephen's of Caen, 1070–79', *Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, 1 (1989), 51–60.

[34] *Rule*, 65.16, pp. 134–35. See note 23 above.

[35] *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 34B,C.

[36] OV II, 250–55.

apparently enhanced the city's reputation, for Orderic notes that William Bona Anima, the son of Radbod, Bishop of Sées, along 'with Lanfranc, was sent there to instruct the novices who were flocking to the service of Christ in the city of Caen'.[37] William Bona Anima had previously served as archdeacon and canon at Rouen, thus achieving some degree of recognition in the ecclesiastical world before choosing the monastic life at Bec. Several other monks also accompanied Lanfranc from Bec. Among these were Gundulf, the future Bishop of Rochester,[38] and Ralph, who became Abbot of Battle.[39] Presumably these Bec monks moved to Saint-Etienne to form the core of the new abbey's monastic community and to continue their studies with their teacher Lanfranc. William of Malmesbury notes the presence at Caen of both Gundulf and Walter, future Abbot of Evesham, studying the scriptures under Lanfranc's tutelage.[40] In addition to teaching Saint-Etienne's monks, Lanfranc also accepted students from outside the cloistered walls of the monastery. In a letter to Pope Alexander II in 1073, Lanfranc reminded the Pope that while he had been at Bec and Caen, he had welcomed and conscientiously instructed some of the Pope's own relatives, according to Lanfranc's own ability and his students' intelligence, in both sacred and profane learning.[41] Thus the school of Caen, although functioning under the aegis of Saint-Etienne, also accepted external students. As David Spear has suggested, the idea of a 'School of Caen' must be understood not as 'an institution with a corporate entity, but rather a continuous presence of teachers capable of guiding students who sought an education'.[42]

Establishing a monastic school meant making arrangements for the acquisition of manuscripts for the abbey's library, whose contents unfortunately have long since disappeared. The absence of adequate materials in the early days of Saint-Etienne is revealed in the fact that William Bona Anima had to return to

[37] 'Cum Lanfranco ad instructionem neophitorum qui Cadomense castrum ad Christi seruitutem confluebant protractus est': OV II, 254–55.

[38] *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. by Rodney Thompson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977), p. 29.

[39] *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 38B.

[40] William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS (London: Longman, 1870), p. 137; William of Malmesbury, *The Deeds of the Bishops of England*, trans. by David Preest (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), p. 89.

[41] Lanfranc, *Ep.* 1, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 32–33.

[42] David Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited', *Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, 4 (1992), 55–66 (p. 56).

Bec at one point for instruction.[43] To what extent Caen continued as a formal centre of learning beyond Lanfranc's time has been questioned.[44] Clearly, however, Lanfranc's reputation as a teacher meant that, at least during his abbatiate, the school there attracted numerous students, both cloistral and extramural, and by all accounts flourished. The pattern that had begun at Bec thus continued at Caen.

Shortly before Lanfranc became Abbot of Saint-Etienne, his reputation as a skilled logician had been greatly enhanced in the wake of his triumph against Berengar of Tours over theological issues surrounding the Eucharistic controversy. Lanfranc's treatise *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* (written between 1060 and 1063, perhaps at Caen), in which he drew from the traditional authority of Church councils to argue against Berengar's heretical stance, showed him to be a champion of orthodoxy and most assuredly gained him the notice and favour of both secular and Church officials. Lanfranc prudently waited until after a wavering ecclesiastical establishment had firmly condemned Berengar (1059) before committing to writing his own view, which coincided with official doctrine on the nature of the Eucharist. Vaughn has suggested that Lanfranc was acting on behalf of his long-standing cordial relationship with the papacy on this matter.[45] Whatever may have been Lanfranc's true purpose behind his delay in stating his view on the nature of the Eucharist, his orthodox position on the issue had placed him in good stead with the papacy. Apparently Lanfranc finished the tract during his first years at Caen. By this time, his former pupil Anselm of Baggio sat on the papal throne as Alexander II. In a letter to Pope Alexander II dated 1072, Lanfranc mentioned that 'I have taken care to send to you, father, as you directed, the letter which I sent to the schismatic Berengar when I was still abbot of the monastery in Caen'.[46]

While Lanfranc served as abbot at Caen, he also composed some of his biblical works, including his commentaries on the epistles of Saint Paul. Written for beginning students of scripture, these consist of simple exegeses along with

[43] *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 38C.

[44] Spear, 'School of Caen', pp. 55–66, thoroughly discusses possible reasons for the school's demise by the beginning of the twelfth century.

[45] Vaughn, 'Lanfranc at Bec', pp. 147–48. The treatise, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* is published in *PL* 150, cols 407–42.

[46] 'Epistolam quam Beringerio scismatico dum adhuc Cadomensi cenobio praeessem transmisi paternitati uestrae sicut precepistis transmittere curaui': Lanfranc, *Ep.* 5, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 56–57.

explanatory notes drawn from the Latin Fathers, especially Augustine. The Old Testament also received his attention as well as the study of the Gospels. These theological works are not now regarded as especially significant,[47] but they were probably a contributing factor in attracting students to Saint-Etienne from throughout Normandy and beyond.

Yet Lanfranc's tasks at Caen reached far beyond engaging in his own scholarly pursuits and overseeing the so-called School of Caen. Although Lanfranc had been charged with the traditional spiritual duties associated with the role of abbot, as the new abbey's administrator, upon the foundation of Saint-Etienne, Lanfranc found himself faced with numerous other tasks to place this ducal establishment on sure footing. To ensure the abbey's independence from episcopal oversight, Lanfranc swiftly secured a papal charter from Alexander II granting it freedom from such control.[48] As indicated previously, he also had to arrange for the acquisition of lands for the monastery from the sometimes not-so-cooperative inhabitants who already resided in the area, and to manage the oversight of the physical construction of the monastery. Where necessary, Lanfranc also had to direct modifications to Caen's physical environment for the needs of the new monastic community. Consequently, he initiated engineering projects to obtain access to Caen's two waterways, the Orne and Odon rivers. According to the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, allowing monks to wander outside of the monastery was not good for their souls. Therefore, 'the monastery should, if possible, be so constructed that within it all necessities, such as water, mill and garden are contained, and the various crafts are practiced'.[49] Thus, in keeping with the Benedictine admonition for an enclosed, self-contained living space, Lanfranc had to provide such facilities in the new monastic setting.

Again his previous experiences and responsibilities at Bec had prepared him for this new undertaking. Abbot Herluin had entrusted his prior Lanfranc with the care and administration of Bec, which had required Lanfranc to begin the renewal of that establishment. While he was a monk at Bec, Lanfranc had urged Abbot Herluin to initiate the construction of an urgently needed new monastery and domestic buildings. Yet three years after the construction had commenced

[47] MacDonald, *Lanfranc*; see pp. 59–61 for a brief description and evaluation of these writings. But see also Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 50–62.

[48] Alexander II, *Ep.* 20, *PL* 146, col. 1299B.

[49] 'Monasterium autem, si possit fieri, ita debet constitui ut omnia necessaria, id est aqua, molendinum, hortum, vel artes diversas intra monasterium exerceantur': *Rule*, 66.6–7, pp. 136–37.

under Lanfranc's direction, but had not yet been completed, he received his appointment at Caen through the compelling pleas of both the Duke and the magnates of Normandy.[50] Although Lanfranc unwillingly left unfinished the work that he had begun at Bec, that experience served him well for the tasks placed in front of him as Saint-Etienne's founding abbot.

The resources of Duke William, who lavished property and riches upon this favoured ducal abbey, allowed him upon Lanfranc's arrival at Caen to commence with the purchase of properties and the construction of the abbey. According to William of Poitiers, William bestowed not only properties but also silver, gold, and other ornaments upon this monastery, which he had founded.[51] Orderic concurs, stating that the abbey received from the King and magnates a generous endowment of land and an abundance of treasure.[52] Augmenting the brief statements found in narrative accounts, Saint-Etienne's charters yield additional evidence to reconstruct reliably the abbey's early years. Most of the abbey's charters and transactions may be found in the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century *Cartulaire de Saint-Etienne de Caen*, which contains a wealth of information for the church during this period. For example, the opening charter provides testimony to William's establishment of the abbey.[53]

[50] *'Gesta Normannorum Ducum' of William of Jumièges*, II, 148–49.

[51] 'Multis deinde possessionibus, item argento, auro, diuersisque ornamentis monasterium idem locupletauit, suo largo sumptu a fundamento astructum ingenti et magnitudine et decore, digne beatissimo protomartyre Stephano, cuius reliquiis magnificandum honori dedicandum erat' ('Then many possessions, that is to say silver, gold and diverse ornaments he lavished upon the same monastery, which he had built from its foundation at great expense on a huge scale and with a splendour worthy of the blessed Protomartyr Stephen, with whose relics it was glorified and in whose honour it was to be dedicated'): William of Poitiers, *'Gesta Guillelmi'*, pp. 84–85.

[52] 'Eodem quoque anno [1077] cenobialis basilica in honore Sancti Stephani prothomartiris apud Cadomum dedicata est; cui a rege et proceribus eius locuples dos atque multarum copia gazarum data est. Harum dedicationes aecclesiarum Iohannes Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et suffraganei eius episcopi Normanniae solenniter egerunt; cum quibus reuerendi metropolitae Lanfrancus et Thomas et multi abbates et mira populorum multitudo affuerunt' ('In the same year also the abbey church of Saint-Etienne, the first martyr, was dedicated at Caen; and the abbey received from king and magnates a generous endowment of land and an abundance of treasure. The dedications of these churches were solemnly performed by John archbishop of Rouen and his suffragans, the bishops of Normandy, in the presence of the metropolitans Lanfranc and Thomas, many abbots, and an immense multitude of people'): OV III (1972), 10–13.

[53] Archives départementales du Calvados, *Cartulaire de Saint-Etienne de Caen*, entrée 1996-135 (cote provisoire) (hereafter *Cartulaire*), fols 1–4; *RRAN*, no. 54, p. 260. Considered the

In many instances, Saint-Etienne's charters remain difficult to date precisely, and because they tend to be confirmation charters, the sequence of acquisitions cannot always be definitively determined. Even so, they present a remarkable guide to the steady process whereby Saint-Etienne's early abbots amassed a sizable patrimony for this new abbey. Lanfranc, with the support of Duke William, systematically purchased or exchanged parcels of property from both men and women with an eye to acquiring blocks of land around the abbey and to gain access to both the Odon and Orne rivers that flowed through Caen. To begin, Duke William himself gave the part of his own ducal *bourg* where the abbey was situated, extending from its surrounding wall in a westerly direction to the road which ran from Saint-Etienne-le-Vieux towards the town of Bayeux.[54] One particular section of the *Cartulaire de Saint-Etienne*, the so-called *Emptiones Lanfranci, Willelmi et Gisleberti*,[55] lists transactions made by the abbey's first three abbots, Lanfranc, William Bona Anima, and Gislebert, as they acquired land and other types of property to extend the abbey's holdings in Caen and the surrounding area. Individual entries include a brief description of the property or agreement, the name(s) of the sellers, the purchase price, and witnesses.

Lanfranc's purchases are clearly connected to the formative stages of Saint-Etienne's development that contributed towards building up for the long term the abbey's extensive permanent endowment. For example, to facilitate the building of the abbey, Lanfranc purchased four arpents of land to quarry stone for the monastery's construction from Rannulf son of Ascelin.[56] Fortunately, Caen and areas nearby possessed an abundance of building stone. This purchase of land for quarrying may well also be related to the contemporaneous building of Duke William's castle and La Trinité, Saint-Etienne's companion abbey for women.

foundation charter for Saint-Etienne, this diploma had been amended and enlarged before its incorporation in its final version into the *Cartulaire de Saint-Etienne*. See *RRAN*, no. 45, for the earlier version of this document.

[54] 'Partem quoque burgi trado in qua praefatum monasterium constructum est a muro in directum occidentem versus sicut via protenditur, qua a veteri BEATI STEPHANI monasterio ad urbem Baiocensem itur' ('I give that part of the *bourg* in which the aforesaid monastery is constructed, from the wall in the direction of the West, that is to say toward the road that extends from the old church of Saint-Etienne on the way to the town of Bayeux'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 2; *RRAN*, no. 54, p. 261.

[55] *Cartulaire*, fols 15–21.

[56] 'Emit Lanfrancus a Rannulfo filio Ascelini IIII iugera terre unde lapides extrahuntur ad opus monasterii L solidis' ('For 50 shillings Lanfranc bought from Ralph son of Ascelin 4 acres of land from which stones might be extracted toward the building of the monastery'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 16; *RRAN*, no. 53, p. 253.

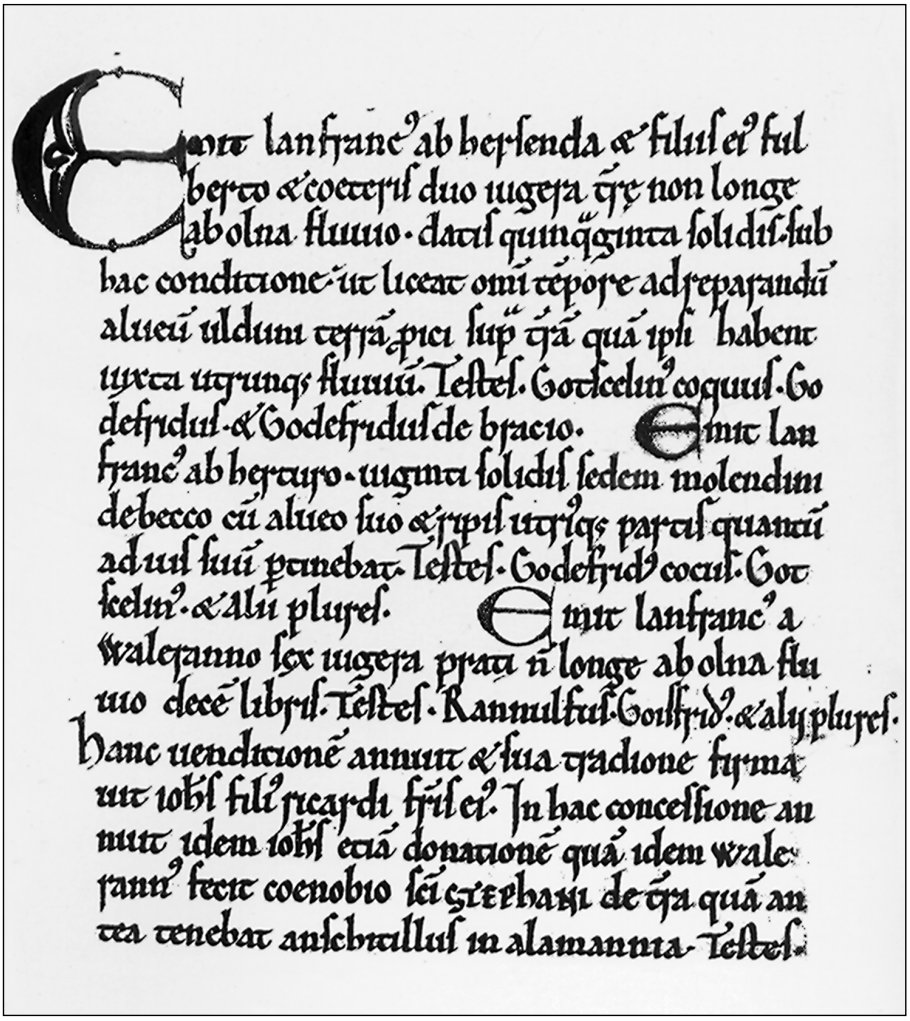


Figure 9. Manuscript page, *Cartulaire de Saint-Etienne de Caen*, photograph from the Archives départmentales du Calvados, Caen, by permission.

Furthermore, Lanfranc, presumably with funds supplied by Duke William for additional acquisitions, also oversaw transactions that included numerous houses with their gardens and orchards extending to the lands by the river for the use and development of Saint-Etienne. Among these were several purchases or exchanges from individuals apparently residing on small plots of land within Caen. For example, to ensure that Saint-Etienne possessed sufficient land for its

monastic complex, Lanfranc arranged for Ralph Taillebosc to exchange his lands in front of the abbey for an equal portion elsewhere.[57] The charters also identify a pattern to extend control of the abbey's access to those sections between the Petite Odon and Orne Rivers near the abbey. Here, Lanfranc's several purchases included the arable land between the two streams of the Odon River and an already developed area that contained a house, orchard, and garden.[58] Further-

[57] 1) 'Commutavit Lanfrancus a Rodulfo Taillebosc octo iugera terrae que ipse habebat ante monasterium et ad mensuram tantumdem dedit sibi in territorio Villariensi' ('Lanfranc acquired from Ralph Taillebosc eight acres of land which he had held in front of the monastery, and he [Lanfranc] gave to him [Ralph] an equal measure of land in the territory of Villers'); 2) 'Vendidit Lanfranco XV solidis Durandus terram quam habebat infra maceriam cymiterii et monasterium, et terram quam habebat infra macerias orti' ('Durand sold to Lanfranc for 15 shillings the land which he had held within the wall of the cemetery and the monastery and the land which he had held within its garden wall'); 3) 'Vendidit eidem XVI solidis Abinus aream domus sue cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus' ('Abinus sold to the same man [Lanfranc] for 16 shillings the site of his house with all of its appurtenances'); 4) 'Vendidit Lanfranco decem solidis Goisfridus partem orti sui a ripa alvei que est iuxta domum suam versus ortum monasterii' ('Geoffrey sold to Lanfranc for 10 shillings a part of his garden near the bank of the stream which is next to his house across from the abbey's garden'); 5) 'Vendidit Lanfranco Gisla uxor Willelmi Patrici et filius eius Willelm(us) XXX et VIII solidis quinque iugera terre in territorio Cadomi' ('Gisla wife of William Patricus and her son William sold to Lanfranc for 38 shillings fifteen acres of land in the territory of Caen'): *Cartulaire*, fols 15–16; *RRAN*, no. 53, pp. 252–53; 6) 'Concedo quoque totam terram quam de me tenet Giraldus mariscalcus in territorio Cadomi, tam in alodio quam in foedio' ('I [William] grant [to the same abbey] the whole land which Gerald the marshal holds from me in the territory of Caen, whether in allodial lands or in fief'): *Cartulaire*, fols 4–6; *RRAN*, no. 50, p. 239.

[58] 1) 'Emit Lanfrancus a Waleranno sex iugera prati non longe ab Olna fluvio' ('Lanfranc purchased from Waleran six acres of meadow not far from the River Orne'); 2) 'Emit Lanfrancus a Milone quicquid terre alveus Ulduni habet ab eo loco quo exit de veteri alveo, quantum ad suum ius pertinebat cum utrisque ripis [. . .] Vendiderunt Lanfranco filii Milonis culturam inter duos Uldunos, Venuncii sitam, et hospitem unum in eodem territorio [. . .] Hanc venditionem postea annuit et firmavit Milo pater eorum' ('From Milo, Lanfranc acquired the new bed of the Odon river on each bank from where it left the bed of the old stream as much as it pertained to Milo's right [. . .]. The sons of Milo sold Lanfrac the arable land between the two streams of the Odon River, situated at Venoix, and one *hospes* in the same territory [. . .]. Their father Milo later confirmed and agreed to this sale'); 3) 'Emit Lanfrancus a Golda et filio eius Rainaldo [. . .] aream domus iuxta Uldunum fluvium sitam, cum pomerio et orto ad ipsam aream pertinentibus, et insuper concessit eis omnes consuetudines domus sue que ad thelonearios pertinere solent' ('From Golda and her son Rainald, Lanfranc purchased [. . .] a house situated near the Odon River, its orchard, garden and the same area pertaining to it, and conceded to them all the customs of their own house that normally pertain to tolls'): *Cartulaire*, fols 15–16; *RRAN*, no. 53, pp. 252–53.

more, Lanfranc acquired an agreement to modify and repair the physical features of the Odon River when needed. In anticipation of such a situation, he purchased two parcels of land not far from the Orne, with the condition that when the bed of the Odon needed repair, the monks would be allowed to throw earth on the land of Hersenda and her sons near the two rivers.[59] Apparently Lanfranc was acquiring all of the properties in this area purposefully to benefit Saint-Etienne. Moreover, clearly Lanfranc was both planning and directing the engineering and diversion of these rivers, creating new channels from the waters of the Odon to the abbey, thereby exploiting its possibilities to enhance his abbey economically. Clearly, Lanfranc had planned well for his church's future.

Acquisition of these properties and access to this waterway proved essential for the transport of goods for the monks and the inhabitants of their *bourg*. Later charters allow the reader to see the fruits of Lanfranc's foundational work at Caen. A charter regulating the movement of goods in ships up and down a canal leading to the abbey's garden allowed the free movement of the abbey's ships regardless of whether the goods had been purchased at the bridge in Caen or elsewhere. The inhabitants of Saint-Etienne's *bourg*, that is, the townspeople living outside the abbey's walls, also possessed the same rights in the shipment of their goods; however, they were to transport their goods in smaller barques, rather than on ships. Additionally, the charter asserted that the *bourg* that William had given to Saint-Etienne should have the same privileges as found in the ducal *bourg*. Moreover, William's officials could prevent a merchant neither from entering Saint-Etienne's *bourg* to transact business nor from staying or returning there. Men from the *bourg* who crossed the sea, presumably the English Channel, should also have the same privileges.[60] Overall these regu

[59] 'Emit Lanfrancus ab Hersenda et filiis eius Fulberto et coeteris duo iugera terre non longe ab Olna fluvio [. . .] sub hac conditione ut liceat omni tempore ad reparandum alveum Ulduni terram proici supra terram quam ipsi habent iuxta utrunque fluvium' ('Lanfranc purchased from Hersenda and her son Fulbert, along with other sons, two acres of land not far from the Orne [. . .] with the condition that when the bed of the Odon needed repair, it would be permitted to throw earth onto their land near the two rivers'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 15; *RRAN*, no. 53, p. 252.

[60] 'Concedo etiam ut omnes naves in quibus res Sancti STEPHANI erunt, vel famulorum monasterii, sive ipse res empte sint ad pontem Cadomi, seu undecunque advecte, secure et sine omni licentia ministrorum meorum et sine omni disturbatione cuiuscunque occasionis, ducantur in predictum fossatum et reducantur iuxta commoditatem monachorum. Res vero burgensium Sancti STEPHANI eodem modo ducantur et reducantur, non in navibus, sed in batellis. Homini quoque qui navem Sancti STEPHANI ducit, concedo unam navem quietam

lations were advantageous to encourage the transport and sale of goods for both the monks of Saint-Etienne and the inhabitants of their *bourg* alike, insuring the growth and prosperity of both. Although some of these charters post-date Lanfranc's abbatiate, clearly his initial work at Saint-Etienne made possible these subsequent developments.

Over a period of years, Saint-Etienne also acquired several mills situated along Caen's rivers and its surrounding area.[61] The charters show an apparent con

ire et redire sicut navem Sancti STEPHANI. Burgum autem, quod eidem sancto dedi, concedo ut ita sit liberum, solidum et quietum sicut habeo meum, et omnes consuetudines quas habeo in meo, habeat sanctus in suo, nec prohibeatur unquam aliquis mercator, undecunque veniat, cum omnibus mercibus vel negociationibus suis venire in ipsum burgum, hospitari aut redire inde secure et sine omni disturbamento meorum ministrorum, reddito ministris Sancti STEPHANI theloneo negociationis sue. Similiter eant securi homines de eodem burgo cum transierint mare, quicquid portent et ubicunque illud accipiant quod portent' ('Also, I [William] grant that all ships containing goods belonging to Saint-Etienne, or those of the household servants of the monastery, whether the items might be bought at the bridge of Caen or elsewhere, are to be conveyed securely and without need of permission from my officials and without any occasion for disturbance, up and down the aforesaid canal according to the advantage of the monks. Also, the goods of the bourg of Saint-Etienne might be transported back and forth, not in ships, but in barques. To the man who will pilot the ship of Saint-Etienne, I grant one ship freely to go and to return just as the ship of Saint-Etienne. Moreover, I concede to the bourg, which I gave to the monastery, that it be permitted the privileges, rights, and exemptions just as I have in my bourg, and all customs that I have in my bourg the saint will have in his; nor is it prohibited to any merchant, from wherever he might come, to enter Saint-Etienne's bourg for trade and business, to stay there, and to return thence safely without any interference from my officials, surrendering to the officials of Saint-Etienne tolls from his transactions. Similarly, the men from the monastery's bourg are to be secure whenever they cross the sea, whatever they might carry and anywhere they might receive what they carry'): *Cartulaire*, fols 4–6; *RRAN*, no. 50, p. 240.

[61] 1) 'In magno quoque burgo, domum Turstini Legrini et domum molendini de Darnestal cum ipso molendino et molendinum quod fuit Rainardi, hec omnia quieta ab omni consuetudine' ('In the great bourg, the house of Thurstan Legrinus and the millhouse of Darnestal with the mill itself and the mill which was Rainard's these [are] all to be held quit from all customs'): *Cartulaire*, fols 1–4; *RRAN*, no. 54, p. 261; a notation referring to this acquisition is also inserted in the margin of *RRAN*, no. 45, p. 217; 2) 'Molendinum situm Cadomi ante monasterium sancti Petri, sicut habebam in meo dominio, molendinum Rainardi' ('A mill situated at Caen in front of the monastery of Saint-Pierre, just as I was holding it in my own dominion'): *RRAN*, no. 45, p. 218; 3) 'Ego RAINARDUS regis Willelmi camerarius do coenobio sancti STEPHANI de Cadomo super altare, una cum filio meo Corbello, molendinum de Waimara quod de rege teneo' ('I, Rainard, the chamberlain of King William, together with my son Corbei, give to the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen upon the altar, the mill at Gémare which I hold from the king'): *Cartulaire*, fols 9–15; *RRAN*, no. 49, p. 234; 4) 'de

centration of mills on a portion of the Odon River that flowed through the ducal *bourg*. They may have been spaced quite near to each other in proximity on this rather short stretch of the Odon. During the first few years of Saint-Etienne's existence, Duke William also confirmed the purchase of the bed of the old river Odon from Venoix to the river Orne, along with the three mills constructed in it.[62] Another acquisition was the site of the mill of Bec with its riverbed and bank.[63] The placement of this purchase within the context of other properties along the Odon and Orne near the abbey suggests this mill's location in this area as well. As already mentioned, the area near the abbey possessed a canal to allow boats access to the abbey's garden. A channel had been cut into a portion of this canal to construct a millstream there.[64] The numerous waterways flowing throughout this area would surely be conducive to the establishment of mills, and clearly Caen possessed a number of mills prior to the founding of the abbey of Saint-Etienne, since the abbey was purchasing pre-existing mills rather than constructing new ones. The presence of these mills suggests an abundance of commercial enterprises including the milling of local grain, the fulling of cloth, the sawing of logs, and the tanning of leather — all profit-making activities customarily done at water mills.

These several mills in this rather compact amount of space point not only to robust economic activity, but also to a concentration of people. Although it is possible neither to gauge an exact demographic figure nor to eliminate the possibility that individuals beyond Saint-Etienne's *bourg* used these mills, their number suggests the possibility of a considerable population density. Overall, Saint-

duobus molendinis in maiori burgo Cadomi' ('two mills within the great *bourg* at Caen'): *Cartulaire*, fols 7–9; *RRAN*, no. 52, p. 246.

[62] 'Alveum veteris Ulduni, a villa Venuncio usque in Olnam fluviumcum tribus molendinis in eodem factis' ('The river bed of the Old Odon River from the ville of Venoix up to the Orne River with the three mills constructed there'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 2; *RRAN*, no. 54, p. 261.

[63] 'Emit Lanfrancus ab Herturo [. . .] sedem molendini de Becco cum alveo suo et ripis utriusque partis' ('Lanfranc bought from Arturo [. . .] the site of the mill of Bec with its stream and banks on either side'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 15; *RRAN*, no. 53, p. 252.

[64] 'Concedo quoque partem terre quam habebat Willelmus filius Harderedi citra fossatum per quod naves ascendunt in ortum Sancti STEPHANI, quam emit ab eo Gislebertus abbas [. . .] et scissuram eiusdem fossati quam emit idem ab eodem [. . .] aliam quoque partem eiusdem terre ultra fossatum [. . .] ad alveum molendini' ('I grant the part of the land that William son of Hardered held on this side of the canal through which ships might reach the garden of Saint-Etienne and that Abbot Gilbert bought from him [. . .] and the channel cut from this canal which he bought from him [. . .] another part of the same land beyond the canal [. . .] for a mill stream'): *Cartulaire*, fols 4–6; *RRAN*, no. 50, pp. 239–40.

Etienne's acquisition of mills, the modification of waterways to facilitate trade and the transport of stone, and the favourable ducal policies that protected merchants and permitted the free movement of ships all suggest a great amount of economic activity and a large number of people in the area serving the abbey. Thus the expanding presence of the new abbey must surely have realigned patterns of economic exchange among Caen's inhabitants. Taking all of these factors into account, the area surrounding Saint-Etienne quite likely became the site of an urban growth and commercial intensity that Caen heretofore had not experienced. Overall, Lanfranc's involvement in the development of Saint-Etienne surely extended far beyond what modern historians normally expect of the abbot's pastoral role as 'father or shepherd'.

Lanfranc was certainly remarkable as a teacher and scholar, and continued in those roles while Abbot of Saint-Etienne. Yet the very nature of the abbey, with its newness and ducal preferment, demanded an abbot whose leadership shaped all aspects of the abbey's development, which also, due to its urban location, affected the lives of Caen's inhabitants to a significant degree. Clearly, as a result of Lanfranc's initial guidance, Saint-Etienne's development of this area transformed settlement patterns and the overall physical and economic landscape of this portion of Caen. To what extent Lanfranc personally oversaw all of these time-consuming activities related to Saint-Etienne and sought to maintain a peaceful balance between the abbey and the growing town surrounding it remains difficult to detect from the cartulary. Without doubt, however, under Lanfranc's strong direction, whether he guided each detail of the abbey's expansion or through capable management allowed other competent individuals to handle its affairs, his leadership resulted in great wealth for the church and the enhancement of its reputation among Normandy's abbeys.

Lanfranc's outstanding example as abbot made it possible for his immediate successor, William Bona Anima (1070–79), to continue the development of Saint-Etienne. William Bona Anima capably built upon the work begun by Lanfranc, though Spear downplays Lanfranc's accomplishments, noting that Lanfranc left unfinished work for William Bona Anima to complete when he departed from Caen for Canterbury.[65] The same situation had also occurred at Bec when Duke William summoned Lanfranc to become Abbot of Saint-Etienne. Citing the work of Musset and his own findings, Spear asserts that Lanfranc was not as active at Caen as William Bona Anima. Calculating the monetary expenditures of Saint-Etienne's first three abbots as found in the *Emptiones*,

[65] Spear, 'William Bona Anima', pp. 51–60.

Musset has shown that Lanfranc expended 97 *livres* 3 *sous*, while William Bona Anima spent 197 *livres* 6 *sous*.[66] Moreover, Spear has located sixteen additional purchases by William Bona Anima in the abbey's cartulary, which increased his expenditures by almost another 90 *sous*.[67] Since William Bona Anima's financial outlay for the abbey exceeded Lanfranc's, Spear concludes that William was more actively engaged in extending Saint-Etienne's patrimony than Lanfranc. A count and analysis of the actual acquisitions made both by Lanfranc (twenty-three) and William Bona Anima (twenty-four), however, suggest that both abbots aggressively pursued the enrichment of Saint-Etienne's holdings. As Caen's first abbot, Lanfranc's concern was with securing properties immediately adjacent to Saint-Etienne. Furthermore, Lanfranc's purchases as found in the *Emptiones* suggest that the abbey had already acquired other property.[68] Presumably, since Lanfranc was the abbey's first abbot, he in some manner had also been involved in these other transactions. William Bona Anima continued Lanfranc's work, in some instances by cementing the abbey's holdings in that area and then reaching beyond the immediate area for the abbey's further aggrandizement. Moreover, since Lanfranc initiated the expansion of the city of Caen, it is not impossible that a certain amount of increase in the value of property within the city had occurred as a result of growth, which also might account for the greater amount of money Bona Anima spent.

The *Cartulaire* clearly shows that William Bona Anima was in some cases completing acquisitions initiated by Lanfranc. For example, as seen previously, Lanfranc purchased a house, orchard, and garden from Golda and her son Rainald. William Bona Anima apparently acquired the remainder of the holding when he purchased from Rainald, the son of Golda, all of the land that he had in the garden of the monastery.[69]

[66] Lucien Musset, *Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes Caennaises*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 37 (Caen: Société d'Impressions Caron et C[ie], 1967), pp. 45–46.

[67] Spear, 'William Bona Anima', p. 53.

[68] *Cartulaire*, fol. 16; *RRAN*, no. 53, pp. 252–53. In these transactions, reference is made to the church's vineyards, although no record appears of their previous acquisition by the abbey.

[69] 'Emit [Willelmus] etiam centum solidis a Rainaldo filio Golde totam terram quam habebat super quadrariam et in orto monasterii' ('[William] indeed bought for one hundred shillings from Rainald son of Golda the whole land which he held over the quarry and in the garden of the monastery'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 26. See note 58, example 3, above for Lanfranc's original purchase from Golda and her son.

Spear has also shown, based upon the work of Eric Carlson[70] and Maylis Baylé,[71] that Lanfranc, instead of overseeing the completion of the abbey church, 'was present to supervise only the chevet, while Abbot William oversaw the building of the transept and most of the nave'.[72] The abbey church of Saint-Etienne was not dedicated until 13 September 1077,[73] a lapse of fifteen or so years from its establishment; and of course by that time Lanfranc had been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.[74] To Lanfranc's credit, however, his groundwork with the purchase of properties and with his oversight of the initial construction of Saint-Etienne's church and properties along the rivers permitted William Bona Anima to follow the pattern Lanfranc had established to continue this work. Most importantly, it was the temporal limitation of Lanfranc's seven years' tenure at Caen, as opposed to William Bona Anima's nine years' tenure, that dictated the extent of Lanfranc's accomplishments. In all probability Lanfranc, with his deliberate policy of expansion, would have acquired essentially the same properties as William Bona Anima and would have completed the construction of the church had he remained at Caen. In truth, Lanfranc, backed by the financial support of William the Conqueror, initiated both the communal and physical resources that allowed William Bona Anima, still with the Conqueror's backing, to continue building the Saint-Etienne community.

Thus Lanfranc's unfinished tasks at Saint-Etienne should not be interpreted as a lack of activity, but rather should be viewed within the context of his advancement to higher office. Lanfranc had started projects that surely, had he been able, he would have brought to completion. Neither the work of Lanfranc nor that of William Bona Anima should be undervalued; rather, they both con-

[70] Eric Gustav Carlson, 'The Abbey Church of Saint-Etienne at Caen in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1968), pp. 99–115.

[71] Maylis Baylé, 'Les ateliers de sculpture de Saint-Etienne de Caen au XI^e^ et au XII^e^ siècles', *Annales de Normandie*, 10 (1987), 1–23.

[72] Spear, 'William Bona Anima', p. 55.

[73] 'Anno millessimo septuagesimo septimo. indictione quinta decima, mense septembri terciadecima die mensis. fuit dedicatio monasterii Sancti Stephani' ('In the year 1077, of the tenth year of the indiction, on the thirteenth day of the month of September, was the dedication of the abbey of Saint-Etienne'): *Cartulaire*, fol. 27. Bates includes here a charter, dated 13 September 1077, that contains a grant by Roger of Montgomery, who dated the charter's confirmation on the day of Saint-Etienne's dedication. 'Hoc donum idem Rogerius in dedicatione ecclesie beati Stephani postea super altare tradidit' ('this gift afterward the same Roger gave at the altar on the dedication of the church of blessed Stephen'): *RRAN*, no. 46, p. 221.

[74] William of Poitiers, *'Gesta Guillelmi'*, pp. 84–85.

tributed in succession as the situation mandated to ensure the welfare and continued growth of Saint-Etienne. Thus William Bona Anima's abbacy at Caen should be seen as that of a worthy successor to and imitator of the very fine work begun by Lanfranc. Also, like Lanfranc, William Bona Anima himself received an appointment to higher office, that of Archbishop of Rouen in 1079, whereupon the new Abbot Gilbert continued William Bona Anima's unfinished work for Saint-Etienne.

Besides William Bona Anima's continuation of Lanfranc's foundational work at Caen, Lanfranc's fine example as an abbot was replicated in this period of monastic expansion by several of his pupils and fellow monks from Saint-Etienne, who became leaders of monasteries or bishoprics elsewhere. Just as Lanfranc had brought monks from Bec with him to Caen, upon his elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he followed the same practice by taking with him capable companions from Caen who would, for the most part, become the next generation of luminaries of the English Church. With the Conquest, William the Conqueror had encountered an insular, recalcitrant, and somewhat effete Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as its monastic institutions.[75] To revitalize the Church in England as well as to bring it within the realm of continental practices, the Conquest witnessed the importation of the best of Normandy's ecclesiastics to fill English vacancies wherever they occurred. Lanfranc, as William's appointee to the archbishopric of Canterbury, assumed a crucial role in the implementation of this policy.

Among these men was Gundulf, Prior of Saint-Etienne, who moved to Canterbury in 1070, where he then served under Lanfranc for seven years at Christ Church before his appointment as Bishop of Rochester. Initially Lanfranc or William the Conqueror had named the Caen monk Ernost as Bishop of Rochester in 1075; however upon Ernost's death in 1076, Gundulf, already at Canterbury, accepted the bishopric.[76] Upon Gundulf's accession, the new Bishop faced many of same challenges that Lanfranc had encountered during the early

[75] David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963). In this work Knowles sets forth a classic and comprehensive survey of the state of English monasticism upon the eve of the Conquest as well as its staunch resistance at efforts to 'Normanize' it. More recent studies, such as Susan Ridyard's *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Jay Rubenstein's 'Liturgy Against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum*, 74 (1999), 279–309, have modified this view.

[76] Lanfranc, *Ep.* 61, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 176–79.

days of Saint-Etienne. Although Rochester was by no means a new establishment, Gundulf, finding there a church badly in need of repairs both physically and spiritually, soon embarked upon a program of rebuilding and introduced Benedictine monasticism to the community.[77] Eadmer confirms the deplorable conditions at Rochester, noting that upon Gundulf's accession, and through Lanfranc's agency, both the church and adjoining buildings were renovated, the clergy either were raised to the highest standard of religious life or left, and the community's entire state was restored to wealth and high esteem.[78]

Although Ralph, a monk of Caen, had accompanied Lanfranc to Christ Church at Canterbury, he eventually served Bishop Gundulf by actively administering the priory of Rochester Cathedral. In 1107 King Henry I appointed Prior Ralph as the new Abbot of Battle Abbey, William the Conqueror's foundation in England. According to the Battle chronicler, under Ralph's direction the church grew to such a height of honour that it 'was agreed to be second to none of the English churches in sanctity, benevolence, clemency, charity, and grace in kindliness'.[79] In another example of the extent of Lanfranc's influence as an example to be followed, another of his students, Walter of Caen, served as Abbot of Evesham from 1077 to 1104. In addition, the Evesham *Chronicle* identifies him as Archbishop Lanfranc's chaplain and describes him as 'most learned in all the liberal and grammatical arts'. While at Evesham, Walter oversaw the building of a large portion of the church crypt and the nave, and he began construction of the tower.[80]

Lanfranc's nephew Paul of Caen (1077–93) filled the position as abbot to an ailing Saint Alban's. According to Eadmer, the abbey there, which had been reduced to nothing, was rebuilt, enriched, and restored to its abundant religious life under Paul of Caen's tireless efforts.[81] The *Annales* of Saint Alban's corrob

[77] *Life of Gundulf*, p. 31; Lanfranc, *Ep.* 61, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 176–79.

[78] Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. by Martin Rule, RS (London: Longman, 1884), pp. 15–16.

[79] 'Nulli Anglie ecclesiarum religione, bonitate, mansuetudine, caritate, humanitatisque gratia esse probaretur secunda': *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. by Eleanor Searle, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 118–19.

[80] 'Literis tam liberalibus quam grammaticis undecunque eruditissimum': *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham ad Annum 1418*, ed. by William Dunn Macray, RS (London: Longman, 1863), pp. 96–98 (p. 96).

[81] Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p.15. Eadmer in his great praise for Lanfranc would have his readers believe that for both Gundulf and Paul, it was through Lanfranc's support that

orate Eadmer, noting that Paul, finding the monastery in disrepair and disarray, followed the same pattern of renewal as had his uncle at Caen. Paul initiated the first stage of rebuilding by having stones and roof tiles removed from the ancient Roman town of Verulamium, adjacent to Saint Alban's, to rebuild the abbey itself and other buildings including the mill house, bake house, and grinder.[82] In addition, he restored properties to the abbey and implemented a number of reforms to correct lax practices that had crept into the monastery's religious life. Paul, 'strict and wise in his observance of the regular order', in keeping with Benedictine practices, established schools and religious and regular observances through all the kingdom of England.[83] Eleven years later, with Lanfranc's help, Abbot Paul undertook a second, more ambitious construction of the whole church of Saint Alban's with many other buildings.[84] Although later the chronicler is highly critical of Paul's actions towards the end of his abbacy,[85] initially, and certainly during Lanfranc's lifetime, Paul carried on the example set by his uncle at Caen.

The one disaster in appointments associated with Lanfranc's tenure at Caen occurred with Thurstan's accession as Abbot of Glastonbury. Thurstan's infamous forceful imposition of Norman and Flemish chant to replace the

Rochester and Saint Albans were restored. Thus, Lanfranc, once he became Archbishop, through the work of others at their own institutions, continued to influence their work as if he had been abbot or bishop of those places himself.

[82] 'Iste hanc ecclesiam, caeteraque aedificia, praeter pistrinam, vel pistorium, et pinsinochium, reaedificavit; ex lapidibus et tegulis veteris civitatis Verolamii, et materie lignea, quam invenit a praedecessoribus suis collectam et reservatam' ('This man rebuilt this church, and the rest of the buildings, besides the bakehouse, or office of a manorial bakehouse, and the renthouses; from the stones and tiles of the old city of Verulamium, and the timber growth which he found reserved and collected by his predecessors'): *'Chronica Monasterii S. Albani', Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols, RS (London: Longman, 1867), I, 52.

[83] 'Observantia ordinis regularis rigidus et prudens': *'Chronica Monasterii S. Albani'*, ed. by Riley, I, 52.

[84] 'Paulus autem Abbas, cum jam Abbas undecim annis extitisset, infra eosdem annos totam ecclesiam Sancti Albani, cum multis aliis aedificiis, opere construxit lateritio, Lanfranco efficaciter juvante' ('Moreover Abbot Paul, when now he had been abbot for some eleven years, during those same years undertook the work of constructing the whole church of St. Alban's and many other buildings in brick, with Lanfranc's able assistance'): *'Chronica Monasterii S. Albani'*, ed. by Riley, I, 53–54.

[85] *'Chronica Monasterii S. Albani'*, ed. by Riley, I, 62–65.

Gregorian chant to which the monks were accustomed caused a sensational riot that tragically resulted in deaths as well as Thurstan's temporary removal from Glastonbury back to Caen.[86]

Overall, Lanfranc not only actively oversaw and encouraged the restoration of churches to enhance the wealth, well-being, and prestige of his own abbey of Saint-Etienne, but reached across the Channel to the nascent Anglo-Norman State, through his own and his students' enterprises. Lanfranc's pupils from Caen who accompanied him to England had clearly followed their teacher's example. Thus Lanfranc's influence extended to future abbots and bishops on both sides of the Channel helping to cement the power of the Church under William's rule.

There is an immense richness present in the life and work of Lanfranc. Orderic aptly summarizes Lanfranc's ecclesiastical career, stating that 'he led a life of high repute, doing much good to countless servants in the house of God'.[87] Lanfranc's contemporaries would most likely have concurred with Orderic's assessment. Lanfranc's life embodied the Benedictine ideal of living in such a manner as to set an example, and thereby teaching by example. At Caen, Lanfranc succeeded in intertwining the spiritual dimension of the monastic life with the worldly practicalities of the quotidian management of the monastery's affairs. Such a challenge prepared him for his subsequent role as Archbishop of Canterbury, where he became a model for the English Church. Through Lanfranc's presentation of himself to others as an example of a model abbot, he effectively bequeathed a legacy for the generation following him, not only within the monastic world but far beyond the cloistral world of the monastery into the secular realm. Lanfranc's preliminary work at Caen fostered a monastic community whose enterprises contributed to the rise of Caen as one of Normandy's leading towns, yet his hand also extended beyond Normandy to England, where he ultimately influenced magnates, prelates, and kings.

[86] OV II, 270–71.

[87] 'Hic nimirum a die quo primitus apud Bonamuillam ut praelibauimus aecclesiae regimen suscepit; xxii annis et nouem mensibus multis in domo Dei fidelibus proficiens nobiliter claruit' ('For twenty-two years and nine months, after the day when at Bonneville, as we have related, he first received the government of a church, he led a life of high repute, doing much good to countless servants in the house of God'): OV II, 146–47.

Appendix

Monks at Saint-Etienne Associated with Lanfranc

NAME	SUBSEQUENT APPOINTMENTS
Gundulf*	Bishop of Rochester (1077–1108)
Walter*	Abbot of Evesham
Ralph*	Abbot of Battle
Paul	Abbot of St Albans
Thurstan	Abbot of Glastonbury
William Bona Anima	Abbot of Saint-Etienne, Archbishop of Rouen
Roger	Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel
William of Caen (Alexander)	

Other Ecclesiastics in Caen During Lanfranc's Abbatiate

Ivo of Chartres	Rector of Saint-Etienne-le-Vieux de Caen, Bishop of Chartres
Arnolf de Rohes	Bishop of Jerusalem

*Accompanied Lanfranc to Canterbury before assuming another position in England.



Figure 10. Christ Cradling a Soul, resembling a Virgin and Child, Capital in the Crypt of Bayeux Cathedral, a Norman image representing one of the ideals of Anselm's teaching. Photograph by Sally N. Vaughn.

Anselm of Bec: The Pattern of his Teaching

Sally N. Vaughn

Historians have long puzzled over what was taught at the school of Bec. No philosophers patterned after St Anselm seem to have emerged from it, although a significant number of his students wrote other treatises — on the Virgin, against the Jews, at least two histories and one autobiography, a collection of Anselm's stories and sayings, and a good deal of hagiography. But Bec had many students, both laymen and monks. Modern historians have tended to downplay the effectiveness of Bec's school because it failed to produce another theologian equal to Anselm. But what the school did in fact produce is a startling number of administrators. An extraordinary number of men emerged from Bec and its daughter houses from *c.* 1040 to *c.* 1160, not as great scholars but as abbots and bishops spread throughout the Anglo-Norman world and beyond — some thirty-two abbots and one archbishop in Normandy; five archbishops, three bishops, and nineteen abbots in England; two bishops in Ireland and Scotland; two bishops and at least four abbots in France; one abbot in Germany; three abbots, three bishops, one cardinal, two papal legates, and one pope in Italy; and, so far identified, eight priors, for a total of some eighty-seven Bec students who held high office and became administrators.[1] Thus it seems possible that the school of Bec focused less on philosophical speculation than we have assumed, and more on practical training. It is this possibility that this essay will explore.

[1] Sally N. Vaughn, 'Anselm, Lanfranc, and the School of Bec: The Search for the Students of Bec', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. by Marc A. Meyer (London: Hambledon, 1993), pp. 155–82; see chart, pp. 176–79. This number does not include the number of students like Osbern and Eadmer of Canterbury who held the monastic office of cantor, responsible for liturgical and historical traditions.

The Benedictine Rule exhorts abbots under its regimen, like Herluin and Anselm of Bec and their successors, to teach by word and example.[2] And there is indeed a rather prolific record of Anselm's words concerning teaching, recorded by three of his Bec or Canterbury students. Eadmer of Canterbury, whom Anselm calls 'a monk of Bec', *monachus Becci*,[3] touched upon Anselm's philosophy of teaching and his methodology in his *Life of Anselm*; Guibert of Nogent recorded Anselm's words as his teacher in his own autobiography; and Alexander of Canterbury recorded and wrote down Anselm's sayings and *similitudines*. But let us begin with Anselm's own words in his own letters.

First, Anselm thought of his role as abbot as that of a mother hen caring for her chicks. As he wrote from his new post at Canterbury to his successor Abbot William of Beaumont and the monks of Bec: 'Although I may be absent from you physically, nevertheless I call the church of Bec my nest, and I carry it with me in my heart with all its chicks.'[4] Thus he saw the abbot's role as a mother, like a mother hen, and more than a mother, as an imitator of Jesus. For his reference to himself as a mother hen deliberately alludes to the words of Jesus in his lamentation over Jerusalem: 'Jerusalem [. . .] how often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings.'[5] Bec, unlike Jerusalem, heeded Anselm's preaching, and thus, unlike Jerusalem, was not left desolate.

[2] 'Ergo, cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet doctrina suis praeesse discipulis, id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam verbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini verbis proponere, duris corde vero et simplicioribus factis suis divina praecepta monstrare' ('Furthermore, anyone who receives the name of abbot is to lead his disciples by a twofold teaching: he must point out to them all that is good and holy more by example than by words, proposing the commandments of the Lord to receptive disciples with words, but demonstrating God's instructions to the stubborn and the dull by a living example'): *The Rule of St Benedict*, abridged edn, ed. and trans. by Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), 2.11–12, pp. 20–21.

[3] Letters of Anselm will be cited according to number, as they appear in Schmitt's edition. One might also consult the translations by Walter Fröhlich, as cited below. Anselm, *Ep.* 209, in Schmitt IV (1949), 104–05; but see *The Letters of St Anselm*, ed. by Walter Fröhlich, 3 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990–94), II (1992), 155, n. 4.

[4] 'Quamvis enim corpore sim vobis absens, nidum tamen meum, ecclesiam dico Becci, cum omnibus pullis suis mecum porto semper in corde meo': Anselm, *Ep.* 205, in Schmitt IV, 97–98 (p. 98); Walter Fröhlich inexplicably translates 'pullis' as 'young': *Letters of Saint Anselm*, II, 144.

[5] Matthew 23. 37. The Vulgate reads: 'Ierusalem [. . .] quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas.'

Thus Anselm saw the abbot's role as like that of a mother.[6] He reinforced that image often in his characterization of his teaching. For example, Anselm wrote to Prior Henry of Canterbury several general principles about teaching, as appropriate to the particular case of a young monk:

> there is never so great a need of kindness as in the early and incomplete stage of conversion from a wicked to a good life. Lest these good beginnings, which can be nourished and brought to perfection through the application of kindness, be impeded or broken by an austere severity, I beseech your cherished sanctity that, as much as the discretion of your rule permits and as much as it helps the aforesaid brother, you overlook the memory of all his past waywardness and that you nourish the infancy of his better intentions with the milk of a clear kindness, lest perchance — which I think unlikely — he might, not from weakness but from malice, fall back into his former wickedness.[7]

Anselm may well have taken this idea from Quintilian, who says much the same thing in his *Institutes*:

> [The child's studies] must be made an amusement; he must be questioned and praised and taught to rejoice when he has done well; sometimes, too, when he refuses instruction, it should be given to some other [child] to excite his envy; at times also he must be engaged in competition and should be allowed to believe himself successful more often than not, while he should be encouraged to do his best by such rewards as may appeal to his tender years [. . .] studies, like men, have their infancy, and as the training of the body which is destined to grow to the fullness of strength begins while the child is in his cradle and at his mother's breast, so even the man who is destined to rise to the heights of eloquence was once a squalling babe [. . .] small children are better adapted for taking in small things [. . .] study depends on the good will of the student, a quality that cannot be secured by compulsion [. . .]. I disapprove of flogging, although it is the regular custom and meets with the acquiescence of Chrysippus, because in the first place it is a disgraceful form of punishment and fit only for slaves [. . .] if a boy is so insensible to instruction that reproof is useless, like the worst form of slave, he will become hardened to blows [. . .] when children are beaten, pain or fear

[6] On Anselm's view of mothers in general, see Sally N. Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm's Correspondence with Women* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), especially chapters 2 and 6.

[7] 'Numquam tanta benignitatis opus est exhibitione, quanta in nova et rudi de reprobis ad probos mores conversione. Ne bona incepta, quae nutriri et ad profectum duci possunt per fomenta benignitatis, impediantur aut certe frangantur per austeritatem severitatis. Precor igitur dilectam vestram sanctitatem, quatenus, sicut vestri decet discretionem regiminis et praefato fratri expedit, omnem praeteritae perversitatis eius dissimulantes memoriam, lacte perspicuae dilectionis propositi nutriatis melioris infantiam, nisi forte — quod non puto — in pristinam non ex infirmitate offenderit, sed ex voluntate redierit malitiam': Anselm, *Ep.* 67, in Schmitt III (1946), 187–88.

> frequently have results of which it is not pleasant to speak and which are likely subsequently to be a source of shame, a shame which unnerves and depresses the mind and leads the child to shun and loathe the light.[8]

The remainder of Anselm's views on teaching below clearly echo or allude to many of Quintilian's views on teaching as summarized here.

Anselm saw a teacher as a mother nourishing and encouraging an infant with love. Eadmer reports that Anselm scolded an abbot for beating his small charges:

> Anselm replied with astonishment: 'You never give over beating them? And what are they like when they grow up?' 'Stupid brutes,' he said. To which Anselm retorted, 'You have spent your energies in rearing them to good purpose: from men you have reared beasts. [. . .] Have you ever seen a goldsmith form his leaves of gold and silver into a beautiful figure with blows alone? I think not. How then does he work? In order to mould his leaf into a suitable form he now presses it and strikes it gently with his tool, and now even more gently raises it with careful pressure and gives it shape. So if you want your boys to be adorned with good habits, you too, besides the pressure of blows, must apply the encouragement and help of fatherly sympathy and gentleness.'[9]

[8] All of the excerpts in this quotation are taken from *Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, ed. and trans. by H. E. Butler, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), with chapter and section numbers identified after each passage: 'Lusus hic sit; et rogetur et laudetur et numquam non fecisse se gaudeat, aliquando ipso nolente doceatur alius, cui invideat; contendat interim et saepius vincere se putet; praemiis etiam, quae capit illa aetas, evocetur', 1. 1. 20; 'est sua etiam studiis infantia; et ut corporum mox fortissimorum educatio a lacte cunisque initium ducit, ita futurus eloquentissimus edidit aliquando vagitum', 1. 1. 21; 'minora etiam facilius minores percipiunt', 1. 1. 22; 'studium discendi voluntate, quae cogi non potest, constat', 1. 3. 8; 'Caedi vero discentes, quamlibet et receptum sit et Chrysippus non improbet, minime velim. Primum, quia deforme atque servile est [. . .] si cui tam est mens illiberalis, ut obiurgatione non corrigatur, is etiam ad plagas ut pessima quaeque mancipia durabitur', 1. 3. 13–14; 'multa vapulantibus dictu deformia et mox verecundiae futura saepe dolore vel metu acciderunt, qui pudor frangit animum et abiicit atque ipsius lucis fugam et taedium dictat', 1. 3. 16. It was Anselm's habit often to quote or allude to a well-known work without naming it. Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent also used Quintilian; see Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (Routledge: New York, 2002), p. 13 and n. 2.

[9] 'Ad quae miratus Anselmus, "Non cessatis" inquit "eos verberare? Et cum adulti sunt quales sunt?" "Hebetes" inquit "et bestiales." At ille, "Quam bono omine nutrimentum vestrum expendistis; de hominibus bestias nutrivistis [. . .] Vidistis unquam aurificem ex lammina auri vel argenti solis percussionibus imaginem speciosam formasse? Non puto. Quid tunc? Quatinus aptam formam ex lammina formet, nunc eam suo instrumento leniter premit et percutit, nunc discreto levamine lenius levat et format. Sic et vos si pueros vestros cupitis ornatis moribus esse, necesse est ut cum depressionibus verberum, impendatis eis paternae pietatis et mansuetudinis levamen atque subsidium"': *VA*, pp. 37–38. Quintilian, too, stresses the formation of habits early in life as crucial to a child's development: *Institutes* 1. 1. 9 and 1. 2. 6.

Elsewhere Eadmer describes Anselm as teaching his protégé Osbern:

> he began with a certain holy guile to flatter the boy with kindly blandishments; he bore indulgently his boyish pranks, and — so far as was possible without detriment to the Rule — he allowed him many things to delight his youth and to tame his unbridled spirit. The youth rejoiced in these favours, and gradually his spirit was weaned from its wildness. He began to love Anselm, to listen to his advice, and to refashion his way of life [. . .] [Anselm] nurtured and cherished him, and by his exhortation and instructions he encouraged him in every way to improve. Then slowly [Anselm] withdrew the concessions made to [Osbern's] youth and strove to draw him on to a mature and upright way of life.[10]

Once more, in this image, we find a loving mother hen nourishing her chicks, and an echo of Quintilian.

Indeed, Anselm's own mother may have provided one of the examples he followed. For surviving at Bec alone is a story from Anselm's childhood in which little Anselm begged his parents to send him to school. His parents relented, but his teacher, a male relative, locked him up in a room and forced him to work all the time, never allowing him any freedom. Anselm responded with trauma. Returned to his mother, he would neither play with nor talk to other children. 'Turning the problem over in her mind and thinking on what was to be done, [Anselm's mother] settled upon a sound plan' and instructed all the servants in her home to agree to everything little Anselm wanted. Slowly he recovered from his trauma and was restored to normal health.[11] This story, inserted in the Bec copy alone of *Vita Anselmi* on a loose leaf, attributes to his mother almost exactly the teaching methodology that Eadmer describes Anselm as using to train Osbern. Moreover, it confirms Quintilian's views of the effects of such teaching methods on a child, as quoted above. It seems not at all unlikely that, in addition to whatever formal pedagogical traditions Anselm may have received, the Abbot of Bec drew upon this event in his own childhood to form his pattern of teaching.

[10] 'Coepit quadam sancta calliditate puerum piis blandimentis delinire, puerilia facta ejus benigne tolerare, multa illi quae sine ordinis detrimento tolerari poterant concedere, in quibus et aetas ejus delectaretur, et efrenis animus in mansuetudinem curvaretur. Gaudet puer in talibus, et sensim a sua feritate ipsius demittitur animus. Incipit Anselmum diligere, ejus monita suscipere, mores suos componere [. . .] nutrit, fovet, et ut semper in melius proficiat omnibus modis ortatur et instruit. Dehinc paulatim ei quae concesserat puerilia subtrahit, eumque ad honestam morum maturitatem provehere satagit': *VA*, pp. 16–17. See also Quintilian, *Institutes* 1. 1. 20, as cited above, note 8.

[11] 'Pertractans autem et recogitans apud semetipsam quid facto opus esset, tandem salubre reperit consilium': from the Appendix to *VA*, p. 173.

Anselm had other models for his life: his own teacher Lanfranc and, perhaps even more importantly, his predecessor as Abbot of Bec, Herluin (ruled *c.* 1037–78). Unlike Anselm, Herluin and Lanfranc left no record of their teaching methods. But there does exist a record of Lanfranc's English years, and the example that he set as Archbishop of Canterbury, in a collection of his letters and in the tract *Acta Lanfranci*. A Bec or Canterbury monk also wrote his biography. As for Herluin, Gilbert Crispin, Anselm's student and close friend, composed *Vita Herluini* just after Anselm's death in 1109, but we may well expect this work to reflect both Anselm's teaching and the Bec tradition. Other Bec monks composed *vitae* for Bec's next four abbots that, along with *Vita Lanfranci*, mirror Gilbert's example in *Vita Herluini*.

There is broad evidence to suppose that the Bec abbots and priors followed the Benedictine Rule's admonition to 'teach by word and example' to the extreme. Every one of the prefaces to the Bec *vitae* — of which there are an unusual number — stresses teaching and learning by example. The general preface for these *vitae*, for example, counsels: 'let the descendants regard and follow the footprints of their ancestors, which they ought to follow, so that without stumbling they can run the way of salvation with the steps of good work' and thus commend their outstanding deeds to memory for the instruction of future generations.[12] Abbot Herluin and Prior Lanfranc were 'each a model of living for the flock, one of the active life, the other of the contemplative'.[13] Herluin was 'a model of great faith in God',[14] and 'in Normandy a rare signpost or marker of the right path',[15] because 'he is set forth for others to imitate'.[16] Lanfranc's life was 'to be remembered for generations'.[17] Here, the active and the contemplative lives, as the two present them, seem equal, almost interchangeable.[18] One is

[12] 'Minores vestigia majorum quae sequi debeant aspicientes, sine offensione passibus boni operis currant viam salutis ad gloriam et ad bravium supernae vocationis Dei': printed as *Praefatio ad vitam Herluini, PL* 150, col. 696C.

[13] 'Forma gregi uterque uiuendi, unus actiue, alter contemplatiue': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster*, ed. by Anna Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans, The British Academy (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 185–212 (p. 196).

[14] 'Magne in Deum fidei formam': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 185.

[15] 'Rarus in Normannia tunc recti tramitis index aut preuius erat': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 187.

[16] 'Imitandus aliis preponitur': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 192.

[17] 'Seculis memorandus iam': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 209.

[18] For further discussions of the active and contemplative modes of life, see the essays by Watkins, above, and North, below. Carole Straw discuss the contemplative and the active lives

reminded of the complementarity of the companions Roland and Oliver, the first brave and the second wise. Both are needed to be effective, and reliance on only one of the complementary pair ends in disaster.

Lanfranc's biographer also was zealous to write his *vita* 'so that there would be no hiding a man who should be put forward for imitation, but he should be made known to all for the honour of God and the profit of readers'.[19] The author repeats that Herluin and Lanfranc, who venerated one another, represented respectively a model of the active life and a model of the contemplative.[20] Herluin, the active partner, was

> humble, extremely patient, most temperate in the care of his body, paid no attention to worldly display, and was very knowledgeable in the laws of his country [. . .] he was well experienced in conducting the business of secular cases and in arranging matters outside the cloister.[21]

But Lanfranc, 'the greatest of teachers, devoted all his energies in the cloister to a life of peace and silence, cultivating the untilled field of his heart with constant reading of the sacred word'.[22] Thus it appears that the Bec sources are describing two equally admirable but opposite models of behaviour, one active in the world and one following the contemplative life.

Ironically, it was the contemplative partner who was to bring worldwide fame to Bec with his teaching. After Herluin had appointed Lanfranc as prior, 'Divine Protection allowed their minds to be in such close agreement that never on any occasion did disagreement arise between them'.[23] Lanfranc's 'life [. . .] was such

in *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 213–35, noting that the two callings are complementary as well as opposed, a point clearly made in the *Vita Herluini*.

[19] 'Non lateret qui aliis proponendus ad imitandum foret, sed notus omnibus fieret ad honorem Dei et utilitatem legentium': *Vita Lanfranci*, in *PL* 150, cols 29–58 (cols 29A–30A).

[20] *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 32A.

[21] 'Humilis, patientiae summae, in cura corporis continentissimus, nullam saecularis pompae curam gerens, legum patriae scientissimus [. . .] ad tractanda causarum saecularium negotia et disponenda exteriora peritissimus': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 32A

[22] 'Doctor ille maximus in claustro omnem operam impendebat quieti et silentio, cordis sui novalia verbi sacri excolens assidua lectione, irrigans': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 32A,B; see also Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 196, from which this is taken, and which will be cited below.

[23] 'Quos ita unanimes tribuit esse divina protectio, ut nulla unquam inter eos orta fuerit dissensionis occasio': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 34C.

as is rightly said to be the straightest and safest path to the gate of eternal life'.[24] He was 'a model of perfect humility' as he crossed the sea reluctantly to take up the burden of the archbishopric of Canterbury.[25] His biographer contends that Lanfranc's

> example should bring awe to those who are condemned with Simon Magus through the zeal of the chief of the apostles. Let those lost souls understand their own lunacy from this. Those utterly senseless creatures buy with bribes an office which such a person [as Lanfranc] quakes at, even though offered with God's favour.[26]

Before assuming this high office, in his career in Normandy, Lanfranc's 'intelligence and very watchful care had enriched Bec, and advanced it to the finest order, while he guided the fraternal assembly with a severe yet gentle discipline, and indeed guided the holy abbot too with humble and useful advice'.[27] Such was the somewhat contradictory model the Bec sources represented of Anselm's teacher Lanfranc, who, although a contemplative, seems to have been running Bec's show.

Likewise Anselm's successors as Bec's abbots, first William of Beaumont and then Boso, were held up as models. The preface to the *Vitae Willelmi et Bosonis* begins with these words: 'Whenever the written accounts of the deeds of great men are read aloud in order to praise God [. . .] the minds of the listeners are instructed towards living good lives [. . .] when they see that others have done what they themselves are reminded to do.' Like the other Bec biographers, the author is writing for the knowledge of future generations about the Bec abbots who 'pointed out to their followers the right path to pursue in life'.[28] The life of the

[24] 'Vitam [. . .] directissima atque tutissima ad perennis vitae portum via': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 39C.

[25] 'Forma perfectae humilitatis': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 41B.

[26] 'Terreat exemplum istud damnatos cum Simone Mago zelo principis apostolorum; hinc intelligant perditissimi amentiam suam: muneribus emunt ineptissimi quod secundum Deum oblatum tremit talis': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 42A.

[27] 'Quod prudentia illius vigilantissimaque cura locupletavit et in statum provexit pulcherrimi ordinis, dum regeret collegium fraternum [*al.* fratrum] severa ac miti disciplina, sanctum etiam abbatem humili et utili consilio': *Vita Lanfranci*, col. 41D.

[28] 'Quoties magnorum facta virorum litteris assignata recitantur, ad Dei laudem [. . .] mentes audientium ad bene agendum informantur [. . .] dum vident alios fecisse quod ipsi facere monentur [. . .] quibus ad vitam pergendi rectum tramitem subditis monstrabant': printed as *Praefatio in vitas Beccensium abbatum Guillelmi et Bosonis, auctore Milone Crispino cantore Becci*, in *PL* 150, col. 713B.



Figure 11. The Abbey of Lessay, one of Bec's early dependencies, exterior, perhaps as Bec may have looked in Anselm's time. Photograph by Sally N. Vaughn

Bec monk Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, also written by a Bec monk, begins similarly: 'It is incumbent upon those who have the ability to pass on to posterity, as an example of how to live, the life stories of the fathers who came before them, to say as much as they are able just as [the fathers] did as much as they could.'[29] Clearly the Bec monks believed in imitating the splendid examples of their own abbots as models for right living, which they may have at first preserved only orally. Surely this premise was one of the major principles taught at Bec. Further, it partly, but only partly, explains the remarkable number of hagiographical sources from Bec, for oral accounts might well be lost, but written records would provide lasting examples.

[29] 'Vitas praecedentium patrum posteris ad exemplum uiuendi transmittere eorum est qui, praeclaro praediti ingenio, tantum dicere possunt quantum illi facere potuerunt': *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. by Rodney Thomson, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1977), p. 25.

Anselm himself expressed his desire 'by word and example of life' to be 'useful to others'.[30] He urged his successor at Bec, William of Beaumont, to 'remember' Anselm's own actions as abbot and 'follow this example'.[31] Thus it is likely that Anselm modelled himself and taught his monks primarily based on the examples of his own teacher Lanfranc and his own predecessor Herluin. But, as we have seen, *Vita Herluini* diametrically opposed these two examples, one a model of the active life, the other a model of the contemplative life. Nevertheless, remarkably, it describes Lanfranc and Herluin as behaving similarly.

Herluin's example is clearly delineated in *Vita Herluini*, a biography written by one of Anselm's closest friends and students, Gilbert Crispin. Anselm describes the Crispin family as so close to him that he called Gilbert's mother Eva 'mother', *mater*, and her sons 'brothers', *fratres*, and they reciprocated. We can be sure that Anselm had taught Gilbert his own ideas with great care. Thus in *Vita Herluini* we will see stressed the ideas and concepts about Herluin that Anselm and his students wanted remembered. Herluin was 'prudent in those things that related to the world outside; in building and procuring all their necessities, he could not have been cleverer or more effective without sacrificing his religious scruples'.[32] It is interesting that, after initially choosing a poor location, Herluin moved the fledgling abbey from its waterless foundation site of Bonneville to a new site, Bec, by a flowing stream, in a wood filled with wildlife, where Herluin owned a third part of three watermills. He quickly 'began to devote himself to business, and God very plainly began to collaborate', taking action to purchase or receive by donation full interests in all the mills and in the surrounding forest.[33] These actions suggest that Herluin was something of a businessman, perhaps even an entrepreneur, and that the mills had a good deal to do with Bec's immediate leap to prosperity after years of poverty at Bonneville. Mills would

[30] 'Ut et verbo et exemplo vitae aliis [. . .] prodesse': Anselm, *Ep.* 160, in Schmitt IV, 29–31 (p. 30).

[31] 'Memores etiam estote qua ratione semper ecclesiae Beccensi amicos acquirere consuevi; et hoc exemplo amicos vobis undecumque acquirere festinate' ('Remember for what reason I was always careful to acquire friends for the church of Bec, and hasten to follow this example by acquiring friends for yourself from every side'): Anselm, *Ep.* 165, in Schmitt IV, 38–40 (p. 39).

[32] 'Prudens in hiis que ad exteriora pertinent; in edificando et procurando que necessaria forent neque prudentior neque efficacior salua religione poterat esse': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 196. Anselm's references to the Crispin family appear in Anselm, *Ep.* 22, in Schmitt III, 129, to his uncles Lambert and Folcerold.

[33] 'Coepit operari, ac Deus euidentissime cooperari': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 194, and pp. 193–94 more generally.

have been a source of income from grinding grain or fulling cloth or tanning leather; or from pumping water to fields or out of mines or quarries; or from sawing wood from the forests Herluin had been at pains to procure. Whatever the mills were used for, *Vita Herluini* reports almost immediate immense wealth, and characterizes Herluin at last as a good provider. Thus, after a long process, at the completion of Bec's foundation, Herluin's biographer lauded his hero:

> The lordship of him who, at the monastery's foundation, did not have sufficient land for the necessary housing, within a few years had been extended to territories stretching for miles around. What shall I tell about the benefits that were accumulated for the use of God's servants: the ponds, the orchards, the arable fields, the vineyards? There is no abbey better equipped for all human needs.[34]

Herluin's biographer summed up his career with these words:

> With what justice, with what serenity he ruled those under him! Well-versed in the law of his fatherland, he was a protector for his men against wicked tax-collectors. And if any difference arose amongst them, he settled it immediately with great fairness. Wherever or to whomever he spoke, his words were listened to, for their worth was pre-eminent.[35]

Thus Herluin functioned as a lawyer and played a major role in the courts protecting his new abbey. He appeared before other judges in feudal courts, and served as a judge himself, apparently in his own feudal courts, functioning as a lord over Bec's properties. And, having no predecessors as Bec's first abbot, and thus no one to emulate, Herluin had been learning his new role largely by trial and error — by experience.

Such were the lessons to be found in the *Vita Herluini*, the model for the lives and careers of the students of Bec. We have found Herluin's model to have been a very practical one of a prudent and clever provider of the necessities for his flock; a businessman, or even an entrepreneur; a builder and gatherer of resources; a lord with many vassals; a lawyer skilled in court cases; and a fair and just judge. It was built up bit by bit, through Herluin's trial-and-error

[34] 'Qui ergo in ipsius monasterii inchoatione domibus necessariis solum sufficiens non habuit, eius paucos infra annos ad miliaria protenditur dominium. Quid referam illic seruorum Dei usui extructas commoditates, stagna, uirgulta, culturas, uineta? Nulla est abbatia que omni hominum commoditati magis commodificata existat': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 198.

[35] 'Quo iure, qua tranquillitate subditos sibi regebat. Legum patrie scientissimus presidium suis erat contra iniquos exactores; et si quid inter eos controuersie nascebatur, equissimo confestim statu componebat. Vndecumque uel quibuscumque loquebatur, sermo eius dignitatem in se maximam gerens obaudiebatur': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 196; and see above, note 22.

experience, and in response to immediate problems and circumstances. This is the model abbot held out to the monks of Bec, and surely the image into which Anselm sought to shape his monks and future abbots and bishops.

Moreover, although Lanfranc is described as the contemplative partner in Bec's rule, in the end his biographer too praises him more for his active accomplishments. Yet added to these must be his primary role as the schoolmaster of Bec who also brought it wealth and, perhaps more importantly, great fame. 'Students came running, the sons of *duces*, the most renowned masters of Latin learning; powerful laymen, many men of high nobility out of love for the man conferred many lands to this same church. Instantly Bec was enriched with treasures, properties, and noble and honourable persons.'[36] Thus Bec's growth enjoyed two bases: the mills and forest, however Herluin exploited them, and Lanfranc's school.

Priscilla Watkins, in her dissertation on the growth of the city of Caen, has argued that as Abbot of Saint-Etienne, Lanfranc took a vigorous role in the acquisition of property for the new monastery and the shaping of the city of Caen to include perhaps a channel or canal from the River Orne to his abbey for the enhancement of its trade. He also gave great attention to the acquisition and building of watermills.[37] Lanfranc's example as Abbot of Caen, Bec's 'daughter' house,[38] thus seems to emulate Herluin's example as Abbot of Bec.[39]

[36] 'Accurunt clerici, ducum filii, nominatissimi scholarum Latinitatis magistri; laici potentes, alta nobilitate uiri multi pro ipsius amore multas eidem ecclesie terras contulere. Ditatur ilico Beccensis locus ornamentis, possessionibus, personis nobilibus et honestis': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 197. I have argued elsewhere that these *duces* may well have been the important barons at Duke William's court who made large donations to Bec at this time, suggesting that they might well have placed their sons in Bec's school: 'Anselm, Lanfranc, and the School of Bec', pp. 155–82.

[37] Priscilla Watkins, 'Caen and the Expansion of Ducal Power in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: The Formation of an Urban Community' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston, 2000). See also Watkins's essay above.

[38] Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 204, calls the monks of Caen 'sons of [Herluin's] sons', *filios filiorum*. For a discussion of Bec 'daughter' houses, see Sally Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 71–73.

[39] Later, Lanfranc would prove no less effective in tending towards the practical problems of rebuilding Canterbury and protecting and enriching its estates. See Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. by Martin Rule, RS (London: Longman, 1884), pp. 13–23.

By Anselm's tenure as Abbot of Bec, Eadmer reports, Anselm was much harassed by the cares of business, but Eadmer preferred to skip over those details. Nevertheless, he did not want to portray Anselm as a poor provider for his flock, so he also reported that whenever the larder became low at Bec, miraculously fleets of ships from England loaded with provisions would appear on the horizon, or some rich man seeking fraternal association with the abbey would arrive with a large sum of money, or someone wishing to enter Bec would come with all his possessions, and Bec's stores would be replenished.[40] Eadmer attributes this phenomenon to miracles and God's provision, but surely Anselm as abbot and administrator, the person ultimately and immediately responsible for provisioning the abbey, had a hand in it.

And although Eadmer claims that Anselm delegated the business of the abbey to others in order to dedicate himself to contemplation and the instruction of the monks, Eadmer also says that, 'When any important church business arose, which it was not thought proper to settle in his absence, [Anselm] disposed of the matter which needed attention as justice required, according to the circumstances and nature of the case'.[41] Eadmer goes on to describe both Anselm's integrity and his consummate skill in arguing lawsuits at court. Indeed, it was one of his teacher Lanfranc's first acts as Archbishop of Canterbury to challenge Archbishop Thomas of York's refusal to profess his obedience to Canterbury in a carefully argued court case marshalling massive oral and written testimony for Canterbury's cause. Lanfranc called on old men who could testify as to the traditions of England; and he produced the records preserved in Bede's history of the English church as evidence for the customs of England. Lanfranc then carefully recorded the favourable outcome of the case in a memorandum meticulously outlining each detail in full, later preserved in his correspondence, and someone from Bec or Canterbury recorded it in an additional record for posterity, the *Acta Lanfranci*.[42] Such was the example he set as archbishop for his successor Anselm.

Anselm is reported as listening with acuity to court proceedings in the 1095 Council at Rockingham, while seeming to be asleep, and then vanquishing his

[40] *VA*, pp. 47–48.

[41] 'Quando autem aliquid magni in negotiis aecclesiae erat agendum, quod in ejus absentia non estimabatur oportere definiri, tunc pro tempore et ratione negotium quod imminebat, mediante justitia disponebat': *VA*, p. 45.

[42] Lanfranc, Item 3, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 39–43; also Lanfranc, *Ep.* 4, pp. 49–57.

opponents 'quickly with one breath of his lips, breaking apart their arguments like cobwebs'.[43] It has always been assumed that Anselm's logical mind accounted for this incident, but it is also the mark of a skilled, theatrical attorney. Eadmer, of course, recorded this trial blow-by-blow, portraying Anselm as a superb lawyer throughout. The case ends with Anselm skilfully outflanking his opponents' clever manipulation of the legates from Rome sent to settle the case of Anselm's pallium — and outwitting the papal legate as well.

Thus it appears that one of the parts of the Bec curriculum was efficient administration, including business management and moneymaking, law and perhaps accounting, and probably something like public relations. The Bec monks were very conscious of the examples their abbots were setting for them. Although at first glance there appears to have been no explicit text for the monks' instruction at Bec, it seems very likely that some form of an oral account of Herluin's example existed. On Anselm's death in 1109, Gilbert Crispin must have determined to preserve this model as a written example for posterity, as he states — a textbook example, one might say — thus setting the example for the remainder of Bec's hagiographers. It was from this background that the sixty-one abbots and seventeen bishops and archbishops emerged in Bec's first hundred years.

But *Vita Herluini* seems to attribute these students to Lanfranc's teaching rather than to Herluin's example. It describes Herluin's dream in which Lanfranc was signified as a great and prolific apple tree, which King William uprooted from Herluin's garden and carried off to England, from the remaining roots of which many shoots sprouted to grow into tall trees, which went forth (if trees can do such a thing) to carry out Lanfranc's teaching. Anselm's role is less clearly defined. About him it was only said, 'Venerable Anselm was the tree richest in fruit'.[44] What did Anselm contribute to the teaching at Bec? While he surely reenacted and taught these lessons modelled and taught by Herluin and Lanfranc, what did he add to them? Not surprisingly, it appears that Anselm's contribution to Bec's curriculum was. first, the gentle, loving, motherly teaching methods we have already outlined and. second, the writing of texts. These texts, however, were not necessarily philosophical or theological. Anselm also wrote his prayers and meditations, intellectually accessible to moderately educated people, and a

[43] 'Statim uno labiorum suorum pulsu quasi telas araneae rumpit': Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 63.

[44] 'Arbor fructibus optima fuit uenerabilis Anselmus': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, pp. 203–04. The vision is described on p. 200.

massive correspondence that, I have argued elsewhere, might well have been autobiographical.[45]

Another surprising list that can be made of Bec students is one of authors of biographical or historical works. Lanfranc himself is said to have written a history of the deeds of William the Conqueror, now lost.[46] But early in his tenure in England as Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc began sending Canterbury monks to Bec to study, while Anselm sent Bec monks to Canterbury, perhaps to teach the English, or perhaps also to learn from them.[47] Nowhere in the correspondence of Anselm or Lanfranc is it explained why this exchange of monks took place. While working with the Canterbury monk Osbern, Anselm requested that Lanfranc send to Bec information about the former Canterbury archbishop St Dunstan.[48] And upon Osbern's return to England, and Anselm's first visit there, a controversy emerged over the sainthood of another former Canterbury archbishop, St Elphege. On Anselm's analysis of the record of past events, Lanfranc agreed to accept Elphege as a legitimate saint, and it was Osbern who was commissioned to write his *Vita.* Osbern did so in verse and prose, and then proceeded to write another *vita*, of St Dunstan, another Archbishop of Canterbury, which might be construed as a kind of history.[49]

Eadmer, another Canterbury monk who worked closely with Anselm and whom, as noted above, Anselm called a 'monk of Bec', wrote numerous *vitae* of Anglo-Saxon saints, in addition to his *Vita Anselmi*, and an important history of current events, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*.[50] An anonymous Bec monk wrote

[45] Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*.

[46] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 204, 244.

[47] Anselm, *Ep.* 39, in Schmitt III, 149–51, in which he notes that Osbern is studying with him and asks Lanfranc for a copy of a *vita* for St Dunstan; *Ep.* 42, in Schmitt III, 153–54, in which he asks Bec monks Gundulf and Henry to search for the works of St Dunstan and Bede; *Epp.* 58, 66 and 67, in Schmitt III, 172–73 and 186–88, on Osbern's return to Canterbury; *Epp.* 149 and 152, in Schmitt IV, 6–10 and 13–14, from Osbern of Canterbury. Also, Anselm, *Epp.* 4–5, 7, 9, 17, 32–34, 78, 90, and 103, in Schmitt III, 103–05, 108–10, 111–12, 122–24, 140–42, 200–01, 217–18, and 236.

[48] Anselm, *Ep.* 39; see also *Ep.* 42, both of which are referenced in the previous note.

[49] *VA*, p. 54; see also Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 234, 248–52. Jay Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066–1109*, ed. by Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 27–40, suggested that Osbern modelled his Elphege and Dunstan after Lanfranc and Anselm.

[50] Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, chapter 8.

a *Life of St Neot* on the founding of that Bec priory in England;[51] another surely wrote the tract *De nobile genere Crispinorum*, a history of the Crispin family, much involved with Bec. Of course Gilbert Crispin's *Vita Herluini* and an anonymous *Altera Vita Herluini* were written by Bec monks; as mentioned earlier, an anonymous Bec monk probably wrote *Vita Gundulfi*;[52] Milo Crispin wrote *Vitae* of Bec abbots William of Beaumont and Boso; an anonymous *Life of Lanfranc* and a tract outlining Bec's rights and the historical events establishing them, *De Libertate Beccensis Monasterii*, were clearly written by Bec monks; Robert of Torigny's *Chronicle* came from a Bec monk; and finally, Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent produced not only his own autobiography but also a history of the First Crusade. Such were the many historical works produced by monks of Bec or students of Anselm.

There were indeed other works by Bec students — Eadmer's tract on the Virgin, Gilbert Crispin's tracts recording disputes between Christians and Jews, and many other treatises, sermons, and poems on spiritual matters; Guibert's exegesis of Genesis and the Prophets, Bishop Fulk of Beauvais's tract on the marriage of Christ and the Church,[53] and Guitmund of Aversa's treatise on the Eucharist, for example — but the majority of Bec literary productions were either outright historical works, such as biographies or histories, or related, basically historical, works. These latter would include texts such as Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions*, a collection of customs compiled for use in the Anglo-Norman churches after the Conquest. It reflects not English usages, however, but the latest Continental practices such as those at Cluny and Gorze.[54] Other collections include Alexander of Canterbury's collection of Anselm's *dicta*, and *miraculi*.[55]

Finally, among the literary works emerging from Bec were three very important collections of correspondences — of Lanfranc and Anselm themselves, and

[51] *Vita Prima Sancti Neoti,* in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. by David Dumville and Michael Lapidge, vol. XVII (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), pp. cxii–cxv.

[52] *Life of Gundulf*, p. 5.

[53] *Fulcoii Belvacensis utriusque De nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae Libri Septem*, ed. by Sister Mary Isaac Jogues Rousseau, M.A. (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1960).

[54] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. by David Knowles (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951); see also David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963; repr., 1976), pp. 123–24.

[55] *Memorials of St Anselm*, ed. by R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, The British Academy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 21.

of their famous student Ivo of Chartres, the foremost canon lawyer of his day. Whoever collected them and arranged them, these correspondences each comprise a historical record almost by definition. I have argued elsewhere that Anselm may well have overseen the collection of Lanfranc's letters. He clearly states that he collected his own monastic correspondence, and probably also collected his own archiepiscopal correspondence.[56] Such letter collections would be perfect teaching instruments, demonstrating examples of correct thought, teaching, and actions both through the words of the letters and through the deeds represented in them. A correspondence thus teaches by both word and example — the epitome of the Benedictine precept.

Not only was Anselm keenly focused on setting a good example, but he also was concerned that any example he set would create a precedent that would legally bind his successors.[57] According to Eadmer, Anselm 'followed without scruple his predecessor's practice, not only by consecrating churches without consulting the bishops, but also by dispensing personally or through his representatives all sacred offices throughout the whole of his lands'.[58] Likewise Eadmer portrays Lanfranc as following his own predecessors' practices, especially St

[56] Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*; see also chapter 1, pp. 20–60, and chapter 6, pp. 261–75, for St Gregory's correspondence as Anselm's model.

[57] Anselm, *Epp.* 176, 210, 251, 264, and 293, in Schmitt IV, 57–60, 105–07, 162–63, 179, and 213–14; and Anselm, *Epp.* 311 and 319, in Schmitt V (1951), 235–38 and 247–48. See also *Vita Willelmi*, *PL* 150, cols 717D–718A, concerning Anselm's successor William of Beaumont, whom Duke Robert Curthose invested according to the custom of his predecessors; Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 41, in which Eadmer proudly proclaims that Anselm was inducted to the archbishopric of Canterbury in the manner and on the precedent of his predecessors. He then rendered homage to the King and was seised of all the lands of the archbishopric as Lanfranc had been in his day. In his struggle against Archbishop Thomas of York over the Primacy of Canterbury, Lanfranc used every legal text and precedent at his disposal to buttress Canterbury's primatial claim, including the Benedictine Rule; the writings of the church fathers; the canons of councils at Carthage, Nicea, and Antioch; Bede's account of the papal privileges granted to Augustine of Canterbury; accounts of past kingdom-wide councils presided over by Canterbury archbishops; other instances of Canterbury having asserted authority over York; and a series of papal privileges that Lanfranc referred to in a letter to Alexander II but did not quote — probably the celebrated Canterbury forgeries (see Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, pp. 159–60).

[58] 'Secure deinceps suorum morem antecessorum aemulabatur, non solum ecclesias inconsultis episcopis sacrans, sed et quaeque Divina officia in cunctis terris suis per se suosve dispensans': Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 47.

Dunstan, who ruled England jointly with King Edgar.[59] Apparently Lanfranc held up these archetypes to King William, whose policy was, according to Eadmer, 'to maintain in England the usages and laws which he and his fathers before him were accustomed to have in Normandy',[60] until Lanfranc, consecrated by Pope Alexander II as 'Primate of all Britain',[61] attained the ear of the King as his principal adviser, and 'took great pains both to make the king a faithful servant of God and to renew religion and right living among all classes throughout the whole kingdom', and was 'the first to set an example to the builders of churches'.[62] In short, Lanfranc set about bringing England into conformity with some model of correctness he had in mind. This model seems clearly revealed by Lanfranc's use of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as the evidence in his court case against Thomas, Archbishop of York. This history recorded the customs of England, and thus provided a legal text to win the traditional rights of the church.

As archbishop, Anselm maintained this respect for precedent. When he entered exile in 1097, 'because from the time he became archbishop he had not been permitted to hold a synod nor to correct the evil practices which had multiplied in England',[63] he believed that if he were to remain complacently in England under these circumstances, 'I would establish a most vicious precedent for my successors to the damnation of my soul'.[64] It seems likely that it is in the context of the entire programme in which he participated at Bec, to which legal concerns were inherent, that Anselm acquired his interest in history — a legal concern for the rights and privileges first of the Abbey of Bec, and then for the archbishopric of Canterbury. History provided models, exemplars, archetypes to be imitated. Building on Herluin's example and Lanfranc's training and precedents, both Lanfranc and Anselm seem to have extended these principles to their

[59] Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 3.

[60] 'Usus ergo atque leges quas patres sui et ipse [Willelmus] in Normannia habere solebant in Anglia servare': Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 9.

[61] 'Primas totius Brittaniae': Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 12.

[62] 'Magno semper operam dabat, et regem Deo devotum efficere, et religionem morum bonorum in cunctis ordinibus hominum per totum regnum renovare [. . .] aedificiorum constructoribus ipse primus exemplum praebens': Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 12.

[63] 'Quia ex quo archipresul effectus est, synodum tenere et praua, que per Angliam pullulauerant, non licuit corrigere': John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. by Patrick McGurk, 3 vols, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995–98), III (1998), 86–87.

[64] 'In damnationem animae meae successoribus meis tam pravam consuetudinem confirmarem': Anselm, *Ep.* 206, in Schmitt IV, 99–101; the letter is from Anselm to Urban II.

logical conclusion: history is a record of examples and precedents, and of models to be followed. It is in this light that Anselm's correspondence ought to be seen, for it too, like a history, is a record of examples and precedents, and Anselm's clear statement that he collected his own monastic correspondence suggests that he did so with these concepts in mind.[65] Together with the impressive outpouring of historical writing from Bec students, this evidence suggests that another part of the curriculum at Bec was the writing of history.

This conclusion seems to be borne out by a short examination of the library catalogue of Bec.[66] Although this catalogue contains a number of books clearly written after Anselm's time, the structure of the collection and its contents suggests that the existing list is somewhat chronological in concept. The catalogue does have topical divisions, but within each subject the books are arranged chronologically, that is to say, apparently room was left in the original copy to add books to particular subjects as the abbey acquired them. Thus the catalogue begins with the earliest books chronologically, and progresses through time and perhaps as well through order of acquisition. First it lists a huge collection of the works of St Augustine, followed by the works of St Gregory, Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, and Bede.[67] Following this apparently foundational collection are the *Rule of St Benedict*, *Historia Anglorum* (which may be Nennius), then Gildas, the *Life of St Neot*, the letters of Lanfranc followed by the letters of Fulbert of Chartres and the letters of Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans. It is here that Anselm's theological treatises and his correspondence appear. These are followed by the works of John Cassian, suggesting an interest in teaching, followed by a rather large collection of historical works: 'Lives of the Ancient Fathers', Josephus, Eusebius, Jerome's history of Rome, the histories of Egisipus and Orosius, the Tripartite History, and a history of the Lombards (perhaps Paul the Deacon), followed by a Life of St Nicholas. After the *Dicta* of St Gregory then appear the *vitae* of Herluin and Anselm. Next is a miscellaneous assortment of tracts and letters in which the tracts of Gilbert Crispin — against the Jews, against simoniacs, and so on — are featured. The works and letters of Cyprian and Fulgentius are next, then an abbreviated history of Rome, the works of

[65] Anselm, *Epp.* 104 and 147, in Schmitt III, 237 and 293–94; see also Walter Fröhlich's analysis in *Letters of Saint Anselm*, I (1990), pp. 29–32.

[66] *Catalogus librorum abbatiae Beccensis circa saeculum duodecimum*, *PL* 150, cols 771–78, omitting the list of books added to the library by Philip, Bishop of Bayeux (d. 1163), cols 779–82.

[67] *Catalogus*, cols 771–74.

Athanasius, Cassiodorus, Smaragdus, and finally a continuation of the chronicle of Eusebius, the chronicles of Jerome and Prosper, and the *Chronicle of Sigibert*. These histories are followed by a History of the Normans, specifically from the Battle of Hastings to the death of King Henry I, followed by a life of Charlemagne and one of Alexander the Great. Then appears a history of the Franks up to the reign of King Louis 'junioris' — probably Louis VII; then what is clearly Geoffrey of Monmouth, another copy of Gildas, the histories of Gregory of Tours, then both Baudry of Dol's and Fulk of Chartres's histories of the First Crusade.[68] Clearly the Bec monks collected every iota of historical information they could find.

This historical collection is parallelled by the collection of legal texts, which appear next in the Bec library catalogue: *Decreta Pontificum*, *canones*, *Excerpta decretorum*, *Corpus canonum*, a book containing the letters of the Roman popes, then Burchard of Worms's collections, Pseudo-Dionysius, including a tract on the hierarchy of the Church, the letters of Ivo of Chartres, and finally an *'Abbreviatio totius corporis canonum'*. Again, clearly, the monks of Bec collected legal texts. This portion of the Bec library catalogue then ends with what is apparently Henry of Huntingdon's history, and from that point on the list returns to a mixture of early Christian and Carolingian sources intermixed with later twelfth-century works such as the Sentences of Peter Lombard.[69] I believe that the Bec catalogue up to Henry of Huntingdon's history represents the major focus of Lanfranc, Anselm, and their students at Bec, from its internal composition. Clearly, in addition to the standard works of the Christian Fathers, historical and legal texts were a large concern at Bec.

There is one more piece of evidence for what Anselm taught at Bec, and that is a clear written description of his methods of textual analysis and textual construction recorded by his French student Guibert of Nogent. Guibert reports that Anselm instructed him to read texts on four levels: literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.[70] A common medieval verse explains the terms: 'Litera gesta docet; quid credas allegoria; moralis quid agas; quo tendas, anagogia' ('The literal teaches deeds done; allegory teaches what you believe; the moral teaches what you should do; anagogy teaches toward what you aspire'). Guibert reports that he proceeded to analyse St Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* according to these

[68] *Catalogus*, cols 775–77.

[69] *Catalogus*, cols 777–78.

[70] Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies*, printed as *Autobiographie*, ed. by Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981), I, 17, p. 140. See also Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 39–41.



Figure 12. The Abbey of Lessay, one of Bec's early dependencies, interior, perhaps as Bec might have looked in Anselm's time. Photograph by Sally N. Vaughn.

principles.[71] But did Bec students *write* with these rules in mind, with the intention of *constructing* their legal and historical texts on these four levels of interpretation? Jay Rubenstein has argued that Guibert followed this plan at least partially, and a brief look at *Vita Herluini* and *Historia Novorum* suggests that other Bec students did as well.

On the literal level, *Vita Herluini* is written in simple, clear language, as if addressed to a child. One has the sense of it even being like a fairy tale at times. It begins by describing briefly Herluin's parentage, birth, upbringing, and youth, and his extraordinary fame for his superb knightly virtues. We have the impression that he has reached at maturity — perhaps age thirty or thirty-five — the pinnacle of knightly achievement: 'All the elders of all the great families of all Normandy considered him among the chosen.'[72]

Now Gilbert Crispin shifts into a more detailed account, like a camera lens tightening its focus. Herluin withdrew his service from his lord Count Gilbert of Brionne, for some vague, unstated injury, and was disseised for that withdrawal. Nevertheless, he returned voluntarily as Count Gilbert faced a dangerous battle, confirmed his loyalty, and rescued his lord by his mere appearance. For Herluin's arrival made both armies equal, so that the battle was not fought. The marvelling Count Gilbert reinstated his vassal. But here Crispin inserts a cautionary note: he does not intend this example to encourage desertion of one's lord (out of fear) or killing (out of greed); rather, the important lesson is preservation of fealty.[73] In this instance Crispin states explicitly the lesson contained in the deeds.

Praising Herluin's high-mindedness, *magnanimitas*, which seems to have struck him as extraordinary, Count Gilbert sent word to his own lord, Duke Robert, offering to lay down his arms and submit his dispute with his enemy (unnamed) to the judgement of Robert's court. The two adversaries did so, 'abandoning killing by arms'.[74] God, Crispin states, had guided these events. The lesson implied but not stated: disputes should be settled by law at court, not by arms at war. God wants law to rule, not arms.

[71] Guibert, *Monodies*, I, 17, p. 138; see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 26–27.

[72] 'Omnes omnium totius Normanniae maiorum familie in electis illum habebant': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 186.

[73] Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, pp. 186–87.

[74] 'Ab armis discedant': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 187.

Now the focus moves still closer. Herluin, age thirty-seven, began to incline towards God. 'Turning the eyes of his heart away from outside things towards himself',[75] he started going to church, then praying, then fasting, then attending church more and court less. While progressing through these steps, Herluin 'hid the inner turmoil of his heart with earnest deception',[76] yet at the same time displayed less zeal for arms. He almost appears to have disassembled his knightly self, discarding it piece by piece.[77] Finally Herluin renounced knighthood, but remained at court, now unshaven and in rags, because, 'He did not know where to go or what kind of life to adopt [. . .] He was a Hebrew about to depart from Egypt'.[78] Normandy, Crispin implies, was his Egypt: no one knew the right path, clerics married, Normans lived like the old Danes — read pagans. The reader is to infer, from this statement and the following, that Herluin himself was a new Moses.

Herluin had entered a new phase: shunning feasts and fighting, he now rode an ass instead of a horse. Others laughed, but God was not ashamed of him. The lesson implied here is that to reach God, one must look inward, change one small behaviour at a time, step-by-step, descending from the pinnacle of worldly achievement, and ignore the criticism of others. The well-read reader might recall here St Augustine's *Confessions*, in which he undergoes a similar process, and his theories that human beings are controlled by their habits, which must be broken to attain grace and free will.[79] Transformation occurs as a process, first inwardly; then, more slowly, it reveals itself outwardly. The moral lessons suggested are taking off the old man, putting on the new, the Hebrews leaving

[75] 'Ab exterioribus oculum cordis conuertens ad se ipsum': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 187.

[76] 'Alterationem animi illius, quam adhuc seria dissimulatione celabat': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 187.

[77] 'Militie ac cetere secularis rei usum relinquere summa erat uoti' ('To give up the advantages of knighthood and the rest of the secular world was his highest wish'): Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 187.

[78] 'Verum quo se conferret, quod uiuendi genus assumeret, ignorabat [. . .] exiturus ab Egypto ille Hebraeus': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, pp. 187–88.

[79] See Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo, a Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 149, 173–74, 207, 250, 310, 416, for a discussion of Augustine's view that the formation of habits shapes the personality either positively or negatively, and Quintilian, *Institutes*, 1. 2. 4–7, 1. 2. 8–9, 1. 2. 17–19, and especially 1. 2. 8: 'Fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura' ('Hence springs habit, and habit in time becomes nature').

Egypt, heading for the Promised Land, and all that that implies. For Herluin was to be the new Moses who led the Norman Hebrews.

This is not the place to analyse *Vita Herluini* in its entirety, but this small portion illustrates the principles by which Bec students seem to have written. Jay Rubenstein, in his masterly analysis of the mind of Anselm's student Guibert of Nogent, shows conclusively that Guibert, inspired by Anselm's teaching, wrote his *Monodies*, his commentary on Genesis, and his *Dei Gesta per Francos* according to the principles he had learnt from his teacher.[80] Moreover, Guibert's focus on psychology, intentionality, and the centrality of the inner man also seems to reflect elements of Anselm's teaching. For we have seen that Anselm focused on the inner life of the child in his concern with shaping and modelling the student's motivations, directing the child to grow through a process of loving, teaching, and learning, just as his mother is reported to have shaped the young Anselm. I have argued elsewhere that Anselm himself was a formidable psychologist, perhaps learning from the psychological theories of St Augustine of Hippo and St Gregory the Great, and as expressed through his concepts of prudence and discretion.[81] Clearly, Guibert had imbibed from Anselm's teaching some of these ideas so beautifully expressed in his own early writing, as revealed by Rubenstein's analysis.

As we skip to the end of *Vita Herluini*, we see that Bec was not after all the Promised Land it had seemed to Herluin, but was rather the Mountain on which Moses received the Law. The Promised Land lay yet beyond the horizon, across the sea in England, where Lanfranc, 'the apostle of the people across the seas',[82] would build a new Jerusalem at Canterbury, head of the English church, in which he 'renewed the state of church organization'.[83]

> The order of monks, which had totally lapsed into unclerical dissoluteness, was reformed totally with the discipline of the best-approved monasteries. The churchmen were restrained under canonical rule. The people, when their empty and barbarous

[80] Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 95–101.

[81] Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan*, pp. 13–18.

[82] 'Gentium transmarinarum apostolicus': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 206.

[83] 'Innouatus usquequaque institutionis ecclesiastice status': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 201. For another important reference to England as the New Jerusalem explicitly so named, and connected to Lanfranc's renewal of the English Church, see Goscelin of St Bertin, *La légende de Ste Edith, en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin*, in *Analecta Bollandiana, Tome 56*, ed. by H. Delehaye and others (Paris: Librairie Auguste Picard, 1938), prologue, pp. 34–35, in which Goscelin dedicates the *Vita* to Lanfranc, whom he called the Founder of the New Jerusalem. See also Vaughn, *Saint Anselm and the Handmaidens of God*, pp. 176–77.

> rites had been forbidden, were educated toward the right pattern of believing and living.[84]

Here, Lanfranc is portrayed as re-enacting the multiple roles of Aaron, Moses's brother, who did lead the Hebrews to the Promised Land, St Gregory the Great, the Apostle to the English, and St Augustine of Canterbury, the bringer of religion to England.[85]

Thus in *Vita Herluini*, on the literal level, we have seen the deeds that Herluin has done. We see him learning through experience, step by step, gradually breaking old habits, gradually learning new ones. But as he reaches each new level of understanding, everything is reversed: the new reality is the opposite of its former appearance. For example, as the reader is told that Herluin and Bec had reached the pinnacle of greatness, suddenly Lanfranc arrived — and it was revealed that Bec's apparent greatness was an illusion, that Bec was the poorest, most miserable abbey in Normandy, at least in Lanfranc's eyes. Lanfranc then, through the school, brought Bec to a new height of greatness and prosperity — only to learn that Bec was a mere stepping stone to England, the real Promised Land. In our excerpt above, the reader learns practical lessons at each stage, mastering each step in succession in Herluin's progression from the knightly life to the monastic life. Thus on the literal level, *Vita Herluini* may be regarded as a manual for the knight who joins the abbey of Bec.

On the allegorical level, we first see Herluin as the new Moses rising up, inspired by God to lead his people out of Egypt, 'forty years' in the desert (Herluin's initial false start at Bonneville), and stopping on the edge of the Promised land — England. Herluin is not permitted to enter (although later he was permitted to visit England). Also, he takes off the old man and puts on the new. Beginning as the epitome of knighthood, he climbs down from that pinnacle with relative ease and then ascends a new mountain step by step — the creation of Bec, climbing from peak to peak ever higher, the steps to God, perhaps suggesting also Jacob's Ladder. Paradoxically, the higher he climbs, the deeper his

[84] 'Coenobialis ordo, qui omnino ad laicalem prolapsus fuerat dissolutionem, ad probatissimorum reformatur disciplinam monasteriorum; clerici sub canonicali coercentur regula; populus, rituum barbarorum interdicta uanitate, ad rectam credendi atque uiuendi formam eruditur': Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 201.

[85] There had been a long tradition in England, even before Bede, of regarding St Gregory as 'the Apostle to the English'; see *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. by Bertrand Colgrave (Kansas: University of Kansas, 1968). On Lanfranc's and Anselm's assumption of the role of St Augustine of Canterbury, see S. Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: A Reinterpretation', in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), 269–89.

understanding penetrates beneath the surface of day-to-day events to the eternal truths. We see veils lift from his eyes one by one until he reaches full comprehension of God's purpose revealed in Bec as his orchard, Lanfranc as his fine apple tree, destined to be removed to England, but from whose roots many other fine trees would grow and likewise depart to bear their fruit elsewhere.

On the moral level, Herluin learns moral lessons one by one: loyalty vs. treason, law vs. war, justice vs. injustice, reason vs. blind obedience, internal vs. external values, humility vs. pride, questioning vs. acceptance, moderation vs. extremes, flexibility vs. rigidity, partnership vs. solitude, community vs. individual, respect vs. arrogance, love vs. hate, teaching others vs. solitary — and rather narcissistic — study, embracing the world vs. rejecting the world.

On the anagogical level, we see that God guides individual human lives, and human progress towards salvation as God guides history — as He guided the Hebrews to the Promised Land. It appears that each human life is a microcosm. Like Moses, Herluin received God's laws but could not enter the Promised Land. Herluin, like Moses, had gone as far as he could. His work was taken up by Lanfranc, another Aaron, a new leader for a new generation. That 'Hebrew about to depart from Egypt' might also call to mind another upon whom Moses cast the mantle of leadership — Christ himself, or at least St Paul, who spread Christ's message as St Gregory, the Apostle to the English, would bring Roman Catholicism to England, and as Lanfranc and his own student Anselm would later spread Bec's reform. These great men of Bec are presented as the building blocks of God's plan. As God unfolded His wisdom to them, lifting the veils one by one, they built God's church brick by brick — not once, but many times over, tearing down mistakes and beginning again, in a better place, and ultimately spreading it to that 'other world' of England.

While the Bec vision of God's plan surely is extraordinary, perhaps most significant of all is the vision of God in the *Vita Herluini* and how God worked through His servants. When God speaks, he is reason — the reason that commanded using courts rather than battlefields to decide disputes. God's way is through Law, not battle — and through business, surprisingly. It appears to have been through the business of acquiring profits from his watermills that Herluin was able to gain the independence he needed to establish Bec's freedom from any overlord, lay or ecclesiastical, but God — a claim upon which Bec insisted through at least five generations.[86] Thus it is worth repeating here Crispin's description of Herluin at the pinnacle of his own achievement:

[86] *De libertate Beccensis monasterii*, in *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. by Jean Mabillon, 6 vols (Paris, 1703–39), V (1713), 501–05.

> With what justice, with what serenity he ruled those under him! Well-versed in the law of his fatherland, he was a protector for his men against wicked tax-collectors. And if any difference arose amongst them, he settled it immediately with great fairness. Wherever or to whomever he spoke, his words were listened to, for their worth was pre-eminent.[87]

These were the principles and skills cultivated and taught at Bec, and carried to England by the extraordinary number of students transferred there by Bec's second founder Lanfranc, God's 'apostle to the English', as he refounded the English church; and by his own disciple Anselm, who carried on Bec's work. *Vita Herluini*, this subtle, elegant, and sophisticated product of Bec's school, provides the blueprint for Bec's programme and teaching. As well, it provides a window into Lanfranc's and Anselm's teaching, their minds, and their governance at Canterbury — and the record that Anselm himself left behind, for the instruction of his descendents at Canterbury. Those who followed Bec's footprints would understand these premises.

Likewise, Eadmer structured *Historia Novorum* as a series of historical re-enactments, sets of footprints, a pattern to be followed. He did so as a kind of puzzle, stating that in order to understand his message, the reader must place *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum* side by side. The materials of both works, Eadmer states, are arranged in the form of complete narratives, 'so that neither of the two works stands much in need of the other for its understanding. I give warning however that readers of the former work [*Historia Novorum*] cannot fully understand Anselm's actions without the help of this work [*Vita Anselmi*], nor can readers of this work do so without the help of the other'.[88] *Historia Novorum* then recounts a series of archetypical English kings and archbishops: Edgar the Peaceable and St Dunstan, William and Lanfranc. These pairs governed justly, and under them, unlike their successors, Right Order prevailed. As I have argued elsewhere, the story Eadmer then relates is the story of how Anselm confronted the disorder of England under William Rufus and restored England to Right Order under his own rule with King Henry I.[89] It is a story told with an eye to aiding Anselm's successors, 'to render a great service to future generations who, working for the advantage of their successors, pass on the deeds

[87] Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, p. 96, as cited above, note 35.

[88] 'Ut nec illud istius, nec istud illius pro mutua sui cognitione multum videatur indigere. Plene tamen actus ejus scire volentibus nec illud sine isto, nec istud sine illo sufficere posse pronuncio': *VA*, p. 2.

[89] See again, Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: A Reinterpretation'.

of their own time to written memory'.[90] Thus, like *Vita Herluini, Historia Novorum* too sets forth a pattern or model for learning and living, a model of correct behaviour in specific circumstances.

In Guibert's account of Anselm's teaching, above all, Anselm stressed the use of reason, which he substituted in his *schema* of the 'inner self' for memory in St Augustine's parallel *schema* of the soul — two very telling shifts of interpretation. According to Guibert, Anselm defined the 'inner self' as affection, will, reason, and intellect, and regarded appetite and will as all but the same thing when controlled by reason.[91] Thus it appears that Anselm applied his concept of reason not only to philosophy, but also to reassess the human psyche, concluding that the soul was in fact an 'inner self', and that reason could override 'affection', by which he seems to suggest unreasoned, instinctive impulses, such as lust, fear, or greed. Reason, in Anselm's *schema*, transforms these appetites to will, which he implies is controlled by reason. Thus reason can discipline and transform the 'inner self', which Anselm equates to St Augustine's concept of the 'soul'. It is no accident that Gilbert Crispin shows Herluin figuring out God's plan for Bec step by step, through reason and experience.[92]

The construction of both *Vita Herluini* and *Historia Novorum* appears to reveal these Anselmian concepts, too, as each of their heroes meets and faces seemingly insoluble problems but resolves them by qualities of perseverance, prudence, and discretion — God-given qualities, of course, but products of their own reason. Thus it appears to me that some oral version of *Vita Herluini* may well have been developing to serve as a kind of textbook for the teaching of Bec's

[90] 'Magnum quid posteris praestitisse, qui suis gesta temporibus, futurorum utilitati studentes, litterarum memoriae tradidere': Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 1.

[91] See Rubenstein's discussion of Anselm's concepts of the inner life in *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 40–44.

[92] I have suggested above that one of Anselm's sources might have been Quintilian. It is interesting that Quintilian says that most people are quick to reason and ready to learn. 'Indeed [reason] is natural to man: and as flying to birds, speed to horses and ferocity to beasts of prey: our minds are endowed by nature with such activity and such sagacity that the soul is believed to proceed from heaven' ('Quippe id est homini naturale; ac sicut aves ad volatum, equi ad cursum, ad saevitiam ferae gignuntur; ita nobis propria est mentis agitatio atque sollertia, unde origo animi caelestis creditur'): *Institutes* 1. 1. 1. Anselm could have easily read heaven, *caelestis*, for God, and indeed, the concept of the perfectibility of humans, made in God's image, is an important underpinning to much of his thought; on this subject, see Robert Pouchet, *La Rectitudo chez Saint Anselme, un Itinéraire Augustinien de l'Ame a Dieu* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1964), pp. 201–41.

students, only receiving its final written form in the hands of Bec student Gilbert Crispin after Anselm's death, and that Eadmer likewise constructed a textbook account of the pattern of effective action Anselm had pioneered as he confronted his archiepiscopal battles with kings and popes. As Herluin's example set the pattern for Bec monks, so Anselm's example set the pattern for Archbishops of Canterbury.[93]

Thus from the materials of Bec and from the Bec records of Anselm's life and career, a pattern of Anselm's teaching emerges — mothering techniques he applied to his students; teaching by words and more importantly teaching by deeds, setting a good example; an apparent curriculum of administrative, managerial, business, and legal skills; and, derived from a combination of recording the role-modelling aspect of Bec teaching and the Bec legal concerns, a major interest in the writing of historical texts, and a new concern for psychology and the self-knowledge of the inner being as the road to salvation.

[93] It is instructive that Archbishop Thomas Becket's career at times seems to mirror Anselm's, although Anselm and Henry I managed their disputes more skilfully than did Becket and Henry II, avoiding violence and assassination.



Figure 13. Statues of Balaam, the Queen of Saba, and King Solomon, who represents the tradition of Justice at Chartres, exterior of Chartres Cathedral; from *Cathédrale de Chartres: Architecture,* ed. by Etienne Houvet, Gardien de la Cathédrale (Ouvrages couronnés par l'Académie des Beaux-Artes, [n.d.]), p. 15.

Lessons of Love: Bishop Ivo of Chartres as Teacher

Bruce C. Brasington

Bishop Ivo of Chartres was among the most outstanding figures of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[1] His labours are well documented through letters and sermons; his canonical collections, the *Decretum* and *Panormia*,[2] became the most widely accepted and influential compilations of the early twelfth century. The *Prologue* composed for both collections was a pioneering work in canonistic jurisprudence and pastoral theology.[3] No bishop more

[1] See in particular Lynn K. Barker, 'History, Reform and Law in the Work of Ivo of Chartres' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1988), and Rolf Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte*, Pariser Historische Studien, 1 (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1962).

[2] See, in general, Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, History of Medieval Canon Law, 1 (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1999), pp. 240–53. See also the older survey by Paul Fournier and Gabriel le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses décretales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, 2 vols (Paris: Librarie du 'Receuil Sirey', 1931–32), II (1932), 85–114. A recent study comes from Martin Brett, 'Urban II and the Collections Attributed to Ivo of Chartres', in *Proceedings of the Eighth Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Stanley Chodorow, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C Subsidia 9 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1992), pp. 27–46.

[3] *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations, 500–1245*, ed. and trans. by Robert Somerville and Bruce C. Brasington (New Haven: University of Connecticut Press, 1998); see also *Yves de Chartres, Prologue*, ed. by Jean Werckmeister, Sources canoniques, 1 (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1997), and Bruce C. Brasington, 'The Prologue to the *Decretum* and *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres: An Eleventh-Century Treatise on Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990).

exemplified the Church's renewed zeal for canon law than Ivo.[4] We must, however, remember that Ivo was not a cloistered scholar. He was also a very busy bishop. His letters reflect an engagement in the daily life of his church. From matters of Church-state relations[5] to family life,[6] Ivo instructed his contemporaries on the norms and practices of the canons. The following considers this instruction, one shaped by a conviction that love, *caritas*, was the best lesson for a troubled world.

Learning the 'Institutes of the Canons'

Writing to the clergy and people of Chartres on Ivo's consecration in 1090, Pope Urban II praised their new Bishop's erudition: 'We know that you have been educated from youth in sacred letters and instructed in the institutes of the canons, yet our word should still be briefly sent to you.'[7] How had the new Bishop come to earn such high praise?[8]

[4] Uta-Renate Blumenthal, 'The Papacy and Canon Law in the Eleventh-Century Reform', *Catholic Historical Review*, 84 (1998), 201–18.

[5] Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Ivo von Chartres und die Lösung des Investiturstreits', *Deutsches Archiv*, 15 (1959), 393–440.

[6] M. Gustaff Schoovaerts, 'L'amour et le mariage selon les letters d'Yves de Chartres', *Studia canonica*, 22 (1988), 305–25. Ivo's social and political thought is treated by Michel Grandjean, *Laïcs dans l'Eglise: regards de Pierre Damien, Anselme de Cantorbéry, Yves de Chartres*, Théologie historique, 97 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994), pp. 310–17. The sphere of lay activity, especially concerning proprietary churches, covered in Ivo's collections is discussed by Peter Landau, 'Das *Dominium* der Laien an Kirchen im Decretum Gratiani und in vorgratianischen Kanonessammlungen der Reformzeit', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung fur Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 83 (1997), 209–22, especially pp. 214–16.

[7] 'Scimus autem quod ab infantia sacris es litteris eruditus, et canonum institutis edoctus, attamen breviter ad te noster dirigendus est sermo': *Oratio Urbani papae ad Ivonem Consecrationem episcopum*, in *PL* 162, col. 13B. In the same letter Urban also counselled discretion and moderation: 'Nullus te favor extollat, nulla adversitas atterat, id est nec in prosperis cor tuum elevetur, nec in adversis aliquo dejiciatur, sed omnia et in omnibus caute et cum discretione agere te volumus, ut absque reprehensione ab omnibus vivere comproberis' ('Let no favour lift you up and no adversity wear you down: that is, let not your heart be elevated in prosperous times nor cast down in adversities, but in all things and on all occasions we wish you to act cautiously and with discretion, so that all may recognize that you live above reproach'): ibid., col. 13B,C.

[8] According to one near contemporary, 'Quod quidem Ivo Carnotensis, decretorum ac legum peritissimus, in epistolis suis tam rationibus astruit quam exemplis' ('And Ivo of

Medieval sources attest to Ivo's study at Bec under Lanfranc.[9] Bec's reputation as the school of choice for future ecclesiastical leaders was made by Ivo and his classmates, among them St Anselm of Canterbury.[10] At Bec, Ivo received a thorough grounding in the trivium. There is no evidence, however, of formal instruction there in canon or civil law.[11] Lanfranc's own legal training at Pavia seems to have been limited to Lombard law. There are no indications that he subsequently acquired great expertise in the canons during his ecclesiastical career.[12] While a canonical collection bears his name, its authenticity is not

Chartres, most learned in decretals and laws, built cases in his letters by both logic and examples'): *Vetus et anonymus scriptor chronologiae Autissiodorensis ad an. Dom. 1154*, *PL* 161, cols 24D–25A.

[9] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 7–8. See also R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. I: *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 252–53; and, in general, Sally N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034–1136* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981). For Ivo's possible use of Lanfranc's commentary on the Pauline epistles (*PL* 150), see Bruce C. Brasington, '*Non veni Corintham*: Ivo of Chartres, Lanfranc, and 2 Corinthians 1.16–17, 23', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, n.s., 21 (1991), 1–9.

[10] Lynn K. Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman Cultural Tradition', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), 15–33.

[11] Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman Cultural Tradition', pp. 16–18; and Raymonde Foreville, 'L'école du Bec et le "Studium" de Canterbury aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715)*, 37 (1955–56), 357–74 (p. 361); Charles Lefebvre, 'La culture juridique médievale d'après la bibliothèque du Mont Saint-Michel et autres centres intellectuels de Normandie', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, 5 vols (Paris, 1966–93), II (1967), 275–88 (pp. 282–83); and Peter Cramer, 'Ernulf of Rochester and Early Anglo-Norman Canon Law', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 40 (1989), 483–510, who argues that Ernulf may have 'known the contents, if not the text, of [Ivo's] *Preface*'. I am not convinced that Ernulf's *De incestis coniugiis* (*PL* 163, cols 1457–74, as *De incestis nuptiis*) reflects such awareness of Ivo's treatise.

[12] Contemporaries praised his skill in dialectic, not law; for example, Sigebert of Gembloux writes, 'Lanfrancus, dialecticus et Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Paulum apostolum exposuit, et ubicunque opportunitas locorum occurrit, secundum leges dialecticae proponit, assumit, concludit' ('Lanfranc, dialectician and Archbishop of Canterbury, explained the apostle Paul, and wherever opportunity presented itself, he set forth a proposal, listed statements, and drew a conclusion, according to the laws of dialectic'): *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, *PL* 160, cols 547–88 (cols 582C–583A). For an older view of Lanfranc as a trained lawyer, see A. J. MacDonald, *Lanfranc: A Study of his Life, Work, and Writing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 2–9, and, though never claiming that Lanfranc had been instructed in canon law, David Knowles, 'Bec and its Great Men', *Downside Review*, 52 (1934), 567–85 (pp. 570–75). See also R. W. Southern, 'Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours', in *Studies in Medieval*

uncontested.[13] Lanfranc concerned himself with the good order of monastic foundations, as attested by his surviving letters and *decreta* written for monks at Canterbury; wider speculation on canon law itself was not his concern.[14]

The method by which Lanfranc introduced the 'institutes of the canons' to pupils like Ivo remains unclear, though there is evidence that canonistic education could take place both in the internal school and during private study. The former is suggested by a scene in the *Vita* of Burchard of Worms, the most famous canonistic compiler of the early eleventh century. Burchard is described as actively participating in teaching his students.[15] Perhaps a text like the detached fifth book of Isidore's *Etymologies* (on law), which circulated both in glossed and unglossed forms during and after Carolingian times, enabled the teacher to present both the fundamental vocabulary of forensic rhetoric and legal terminology.[16] Given injunctions to the reader found in their prefaces, canonical collections may also have sometimes had an instructional purpose.[17] Glosses to collections may also betray their use of the trivium. The eleventh-century Italian *Collection in Five Books*,[18] for example, is covered with lexical glosses that could

History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, ed. by Richard W. Hunt and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948; repr., Westport: University of Connecticut Press, 1979), pp. 27–48 (pp. 28–29); Frank Barlow, 'A View of Archbishop Lanfranc', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 17 (1965–66), 163–77; and Richard W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1941–43), 206–08.

[13] Martin Brett, 'The *Collectio Lanfranci* and its Competitors', in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 157–74.

[14] See the preface to *decreta* written for the monks of Canterbury, *Decreta Lanfranci monachis Cantuariensibus transmissa*, ed. by David Knowles, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 3 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1967), pp. 3, 12–21. See also *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 6–7, 151–52.

[15] *Vita Burchardi Episcopi*, ed. by Georg Waitz in MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 840–41.

[16] Joseph Tardif, 'Un abrégé juridique des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville', in *Melanges Julien Havet* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1895), pp. 659–81.

[17] Bruce C. Brasington, 'Prologues to Canonical Collections as a Source for Jurisprudential Change to the Eve of the Investiture Contest', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 28 (1994), 226–42.

[18] The manuscript is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS latin 133.

easily have enabled a reader to expand his vocabulary while, at the same time, studying patristic and conciliar texts.[19]

Once Ivo left Bec, his familiarity with the canons undoubtedly continued to grow. The circumstances of this study, however, are unknown. We know little about Ivo's career between Bec and his election as Bishop of Chartres in 1090. He appears to have had some sort of connection with the abbey of Nesle in Picardy.[20] By 1079 he had become provost of the Augustinian house of Saint-Quentin in Beauvais, where he, as Lanfranc had done at Canterbury, subsequently instituted a rule.[21] There he remained until 1090. Ivo clearly was fond of Saint-Quentin, and remembered his connection with the house to the end of his life.[22] While lacking Bec's fame, Beauvais was hardly an intellectual backwater; enough survives of the contemporary cathedral library to indicate a good range of texts.[23] Saint-Quentin must have played a role in his legal education as he continued to deepen his knowledge of canonical tradition. His engagement with canon law must have begun no later than his tenure at Beauvais, for once Ivo came to Chartres, the press of his episcopal duties likely left little time for sustained reflection on the canons.

[19] I am in the process of examining and categorizing these glosses, which have never received comprehensive analysis. On the *Five Books*, see Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, pp. 157–60; and especially Roger E. Reynolds, 'The South-Italian Collection in Five Books and its Derivatives: New Evidence on its Origins, Diffusion and Use', *Mediaeval Studies*, 52 (1990), 278–95.

[20] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 8 and 198, noting a document from Saint-Quentin of Beauvais dated to 10 July of an unknown year prior to 1091. Ivo received a prebend from Gualcherus, *custos* of Nesle. On Nesle, see Marie-Thérèse Morlet, 'Les noms de personne à Beauvais au XIV[e] siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715)*, 37 (1955–56), 295–309. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 254–55 and n. 14, places Ivo within the 'School of Laon' based on evidence of Ivonian theological *Sententiae* transmitted in manuscripts containing the works of Anselm and William of Champeaux. The connection, he admits, is unclear.

[21] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 8; and Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 255.

[22] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 140–43, noting a book donation by Ivo recorded in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouvelle acquisition latine 1921, fol. 116: Henri Omont, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits latins et français de la Collection Phillipps acquis en 1908 pour la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), p. 52.

[23] In general, see Henri Omont, 'Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathédrale de Beauvais', *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 40 (1916), 1–93; and Emile Lesne, *Les livres, 'scriptoria' et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII[e] à la fin du XI[e] siècle*, Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France, 4 (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1964), pp. 612–14.

In 1090 Urban II thus recommended Ivo to the clergy and people of Chartres as a pastor skilled in the canons. What Chartres expected from him in this regard is, of course, exceedingly difficult to determine, though certainly they must have compared him to his predecessors. Local standards of legal expertise had undoubtedly emerged thanks to the reputation of Ivo's predecessors, above all Fulbert. Bishop Fulbert (1006–28) must have been a compelling model. Like Lanfranc, Fulbert enjoyed a medieval reputation for his pastoral care and teaching.[24] His fame grew in the late nineteenth century, thanks to the Abbé Clerval's *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge*.[25] It is thanks to Clerval that Fulbert, and the celebrated school of Chartres, began to attract scholarly attention.[26]

It is curious that, despite Chartres's fame as a centre of learning, scholars have been reluctant to attribute any type of higher study to the cathedral school, including law.[27] Such caution, particularly in regard to canonistic study, appeared decades ago in the work of Loren C. MacKinney.[28] MacKinney stressed the practical orientation of Fulbert's teaching. The Bishop was a competent master

[24] See the eleventh-century portrait by Andrew de Mici in Jan van der Meulen and Jürgen Hohmeyer, *Chartres Biographie der Kathedral* (Cologne: DuMont, 1984), pl. xxii.

[25] A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge: du V^e^ au XIV^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1895; repr., Frankfurt-am-Main: Minerva, 1965), p. 29.

[26] R. W. Southern, 'Humanism and the School of Chartres', in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), pp. 61–85; Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 113–37; Southern, *Platonism, Scholastic Method and the School of Chartres*, Stenton Lecture for 1979 (Reading: University of Reading Press, 1981); Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, pp. 58–101. For opposing views, all considered by Southern in *Scholastic Humanism*, see Nikolaus M. Häring, 'Chartres and Paris Revisited', in *Essays in Honor of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. by J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1974), pp. 268–329; and Peter Dronke, 'New Approaches to the School of Chartres', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 6 (1971), 117–40. On the relationship between the schools of Chartres and Saint-Victor at Paris, see Jean Châtillon, 'Les écoles de Chartres et de Saint-Victor', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 19, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Mediovo, 1972), II, 795–839. Possible legal instruction at Chartres does not figure in any of these essays.

[27] Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 142.

[28] Loren C. MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres*, Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, 6 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957), pp. 12–16.

in the trivium, not a pioneering humanist.[29] At best, Fulbert was an influential pastor with solid, if hardly original, erudition.[30] What instruction in canon law may have occurred under his supervision was informal discussion with his episcopal *familia*.[31] Like Lanfranc, Fulbert left his successors a legacy of useful knowledge of canon law and a career as teacher and source of legal knowledge worthy of emulation.[32] His letters also contain legal expertise and interest.[33] Certainly they reveal his active career as a judge, particularly in matters of excommunication.[34] One should add, however, that these letters do not appear to have exercised any direct influence on Ivo, for they do not appear as either implicit or explicit excerpts or references in his own canonical collections and epistles.[35] At the very least, however, we can assume that Ivo was well aware of Fulbert's legacy as teacher, judge, and canonist, even if he likely had little of what Fulbert had written.[36]

In sum, Ivo came to a well-established church, one with a solid reputation for learning. Ivo's *Prologue*, letters, and collections demonstrate that he more than upheld this tradition. Undoubtedly he also taught his *familia*, but the form and

[29] MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert*, p. 24.

[30] Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres (Bishop 1000–1028)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. xvi.

[31] Mac Kinney, *Bishop Fulbert*, p. 34, stressing Fulbert's familiarity with canonical procedure, which passed to some of his students, for example Olbert of Gembloux; see Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 90.

[32] Franz Kerff, 'Das sogenannte *Paenitentiale Fulberti*, Überlieferung, Verfasserfrage, Edition', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung fur Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 73 (1987), 1–40.

[33] Behrends, *Letters and Poems*, p. xxiv and n. 13. Fulbert's activity as a judge is discussed by Wilfried Hartmannn, 'Die Briefe Fulberts von Chartres als Quelle für die Praxis des bischöflichen Gerichts in Frankreich am Beginn des 11. Jahrhunderts', in *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau*, ed. by Richard H. Helmholz and others (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), pp. 93–103.

[34] Hartmann, 'Die Briefe Fulberts', pp. 99–103.

[35] Gunter Baron, 'Fulbert von Chartres und seine Zeit im Spiegel seiner Briefes' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Würzburg, 1968), pp. 189–99; and Behrends, *Letters and Poems*, p. xviii.

[36] Kerff, 'Das sogenannte *Paenitientiale Fulbert*', p. 21, pointing out that Ivo incorporated Fulbert's penitential into his *Decretum*, though Ivo may not have known that his predecessor was the source. For the extant manuscripts of Fulbert's letters, see most recently Hartmann, 'Die Briefe Fulberts', p. 103 n. 48.

content of any legal or theological instruction cannot be clearly determined.[37] An initial education in the trivium — especially in rhetoric — at some point would have encountered the canons, if only as part of private study.[38] This informal exposure led some to higher, more intense study, with the end being a canonist. On the eve of the urban schools and universities, this was the path to jurisprudence.

Ivo did not administer a law school; nothing of the sort existed in his day. Yet he was by necessity a teacher of law, for like Lanfranc and Fulbert, the Bishop embodied a school, a school that brought the theory and application of the canons to life.[39] Canonistic study did not train professional lawyers and theologians; instead, it upheld the centuries-old tradition of preparing bishops and abbots. Ivo of Chartres learned the canons and would teach them to his church, from priests in his own diocese to correspondents to the popes themselves.

The Law of Love

St Paul wrote that 'charity was the fullness of the law'. To a very great extent, the subsequent theory and practice of canon law was simply a gloss on this statement. As Bishop Caesarius of Arles noted centuries later, 'And truly, brothers, how can it be that someone should hate another man if he should love him as he loves himself? Therefore love, and do whatever you wish; love from your whole heart and minister as you wish to your neighbour'.[40] Over the centuries, this ideal of *caritas* secured the foundation of canon law.

One of the earliest applications of this ideal lay in the theory of dispensation. While episcopal councils and, increasingly after the fourth century, papal decretals had established norms for the Church, these norms of practice continually met circumstances that demanded their flexible interpretation, even outright

[37] Jean Gaudemet, 'Le droit romain dans la pratique et chez les docteurs aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 8 (1965), 365–80 (especially pp. 373–74).

[38] On the rhetorical background, see *Prefaces to Canon Law Books*, ed. and trans. by Somerville and Brasington, and Brasington, 'Prologues to Canonical Collections as a Source for Jurisprudential Change'.

[39] Robert Giacone, 'Masters, Books and Library at Chartres According to the Cartularies of Notre Dame and Saint Père', *Vivarium*, 11 (1973), 30–51 (pp. 40–41).

[40] 'Et re vera, fratres, quomodo potest fieri ut aliquis alteri homini malum faciat, si illum sicut se ipsum dilexerit? Dilige ergo, et quicquid volueris fac: ama ex toto corde tuo, et quod volueris exerce in proximo tuo': Caesarius, Sermo 29, in *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera*, ed. by Germain Morin, 2 vols, CCSL, 103–04 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), I, 128.

suspension. For example, bishops needed to be translated, despite canonical strictures against a man leaving the see to which he had been 'married'. Sometimes men needed to be advanced to ecclesiastical office more quickly than the canons traditionally allowed. In these and many other circumstances, traditional rules confronted the changing circumstances of the Church's daily life. While canonical tradition was supposed to be preserved, dispensation thus had to be considered if the Church was to function.

Consequently when Ivo of Chartres filled his canonical works and letters with reference to dispensation and charity, he was participating in a venerable legal and theological discourse. An excellent example of this occurs in a letter Ivo wrote around 1099 to Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme concerning Daniel, a monk who had fled to Chartres complaining of harsh and excessive discipline at Vendôme:

> Thus I admonish Your Fraternity to modify your zeal, so that you should neither spare the tumour nor place the iron on the healthy parts, and that those you correct you should correct with love (*cum charitate corripias*), and those you spare, spare with love (*cum charitate parcas*).[41]

Relations between Abbot and Bishop had always been strained, and this moment (around 1099) was no different. Ivo was undoubtedly eager to admonish Geoffrey. Ivo's instruction is clear: only through the moderating and guiding influence of love can the Abbot truly lead and correct his flock. In discipline he chooses between rigour and mercy, but this choice must always follow *caritas*. In this response of pastoral concern expressed in language combining healing and love, we encounter the ideal that permeates not only Ivo's letters but his works throughout, especially his *Prologue*.[42]

[41] 'Unde moneo fraternitatem tuam quatenus zelum tuum ita modifices, ut nec tumori parcas, nec in sanas partes ferrum mittas, et quos corripis cum charitate corripias, et quibus parcis cum charitate parcas': Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 82, in *PL* 162, cols 103C–104A (col. 103C,D). Ivo warns of the dangers created by excessive severity: 'Sic, sic, charissime, immoderatus rigor disciplinae quos corripit non corrigit, sed in laqueum diaboli praecipitanter impellit' ('Thus, thus, my beloved, excessive rigour in discipline does not correct the one whom it strikes, but rather throws him precipitously into the snares of the devil'): *Ep.* 82, col. 103D. Ivo informs Geoffrey that he is sending Daniel back with the advice that the monk either be allowed to repent in his home monastery or to seek his salvation in another house. The maxim 'cum charitate corripias – parcas' was already ancient by Ivo's day. See, for example, Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 29, *Sancti Caesarii Opera*, I, 128.

[42] On the dating of Ivo's *Prologue*, see Bruce C. Brasington, 'The Prologue of Ivo of Chartres: A Fresh Consideration from the Manuscripts', in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Chodorow, pp. 3–22.

From beginning to end, *caritas* is the *Prologue's* central theme. Like an effective sermon, it illustrates *caritas* in various ways. One of the most powerful images is that of the judge, presumably a bishop like Ivo, who functioned as a doctor of the soul. *Caritas* would be his medicine. Only love can heal.

Scholars have occasionally noted Ivo's treatment of sin as a disease. Medical imagery abounds in his works.[43] For an age in which suffering and death were not hidden behind institutional walls, such language was immediate and powerful. Ivo himself mentioned his sufferings in his letters, a reference in Christian literature as old as the letters of Paul.[44] Such references highlighted not only the deadly power of sin but also the dramatic necessity of mercy that alone could heal. Traditional topoi went hand-in-hand with experience.

Certainly Ivo was not unique in his reference to *caritas* as embodying the nature and best expression of canon law.[45] None of his contemporaries, however, made this argument as forcefully. *Caritas* is the heart and soul of Ivo's teaching, not only in the theory of canon law, but also in its practice. In this respect, Ivo seems more in step with an earlier language, one spoken by the Fathers,[46] and one elaborated in the prefaces to the early medieval penitentials.[47] There is no trace of the dialectic in his approach to canonical tradition; one hears rather a

[43] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, pp. 20–24; and noted but not explored by Barker, 'History, Reform and Law', p. 124 n. 76.

[44] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 22 and n. 53.

[45] For example, Gregory VII (Reg. 2.67), in *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. by Erich Caspar, 2 vols, MGH, Epistolae selectae, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920–23), II (1923), 31–34.

[46] A good example is Caesarius of Arles's Sermo 26, 'De diligendis inimicis', in *Sancti Caesarii Opera*, I, 155–61 (pp. 160–61), which vividly evokes its power. On the Augustinian tradition informing much of this language, see Suzanne Polue, *Le langage symbolique dans la prédication d'Augustin d'Hippone: Images héroïques*, 2 vols (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1984), I, 176–90, focusing on *ferramentum* or *ferrum*, the doctor's healing knife.

[47] For example the *Penitential of Columban* (*c.* 600) draws out medical imagery at great length, arguing that a diversity of faults, like a diversity of bodily ailments, requires a diversity of cures: in *Die Bussordnugen der abendländischen Kirche*, ed. by Hermann Wasserschleben (Leipzig: Halle, 1851), p. 355. This particular text appears in various later penitential and canonical collections. On this text and related examples, see Johannes Gründel, *Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, 39 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1963), pp. 66–93 (pp. 91–93 for *Diversitas culparum*).

voice more in harmony with Gregory the Great[48] or Hincmar of Reims[49] than with Abelard and other pioneers of the scholastic method.

We should not, however, judge this message as anachronistic. While Walter Ullmann characterized such references to disease and healing as signs of older, less 'sophisticated' notions of the Church,[50] such a judgement seems excessively restrictive as well as out of touch with an understanding of the pastoral nature of canon law still present in the early twelfth century. Bishops still made the law and taught it, through their collections, treatises, and letters.[51] Jurisprudents and pastors were not yet separated by university walls. If we grant that Ivo's language of *caritas* indeed echoes an earlier age,[52] it still spoke to his own day. It cannot be emphasized too often that Ivo, in contrast to most theorists of his day, was a bishop and reformer in northern Europe, not a creature of the *curia* or a monk withdrawn from the world. His theory reflects the necessary, dynamic union of theory and practice in the episcopate.

By treating sin as an illness, Ivo illustrated its essential diversity and the compelling necessity to discover an equally diverse, flexible healing. This diversity

[48] The classic account of the cult of the saints as the mechanism — increasingly mediated by the bishop — for healing division in Christian communities during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 106–27. See also Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 256–80.

[49] Karl F. Morrison, '"Unum ex multis": Hincmar of Reims's Medical and Aesthetical Rationales for Unification', in *Nascita dell'Europa Carolingia: un'equazione da verificare*, Settimani, 27 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1981), pp. 583–712 (pp. 594–95), with numerous examples from Hincmar's correspondence: tracts such as the *De divortio Lotharii* and *De praedestinatione*, and at pp. 654–57 for examples from his *Vita Sancti Remigii*, where the later saintly Bishop of Reims began his work of healing while still in his mother's womb.

[50] Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1970), p. 374. For a differing view, see Harald Zimmermann, 'Römische und kanonische Rechtskenntnis und Rechtsschulung im frühen Mittlealter', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino*, II, 767–94 (p. 778).

[51] As emphasized by Gerhard Dilcher, 'Der Kanonist als Gesetzgeber: Zur rechtshistorischen Stellung des Hofrechts Bischof Burchards von Worms', in *Grundlagen des Rechts*, ed. by Helmholz and others, pp. 105–31. What applied to Ivo's great predecessor remained true in his own day.

[52] On Gregory the Great's emphasis on *caritas* as the unifying theme in Christian life, see Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 90–106.

required a multiplicity of laws. It also set up the guiding dichotomy of his jurisprudence: the necessity of choosing the right solution when confronted by the conflicting demands of rigour and moderation. This contrast, guided by the unity of *caritas*, emerged from his medical imagery and became a distinctive feature of Ivo's jurisprudence and his message to his audience though his *Prologue*, canonical collections, and letters.

Ivo's contemporaries were certainly aware that tradition appeared filled with contradictions. The dialectical hermeneutic was appearing to address this concern. For his own part, Ivo's understanding of *caritas* as the essence and expression of canon law was grounded in his confidence that tradition was an undivided whole. Ivo answers the challenge of discordant authorities with confidence, counselling that a more careful reading will reveal the unity of holy eloquence. This was not a rhetorical flourish. Ivo believed in the essential harmony of orthodox tradition, as we see in a letter to Urban II from 1098:

> But when I had diligently read through those things available to me, I perceived many things written in them in favour of the Roman Church, nothing against the Roman Church, save, perhaps, what someone not following the wish of the author and not considering the one form of holy eloquence might say — God forbid! — that the authentic writings oppose one another and fight authority with authority. Though many dissonant things may be read therein, they should be understood in their own way and should be accommodated to the word of the author.[53]

No matter how much men might argue, the harmony of the canons remained.[54] Ivo was undoubtedly acutely aware of the threats emerging from contemporary polemics, which read and shaped tradition to fit the ends of party politics in the

[53] 'Sed cum has apud me reperiens diligenter perlegissem, multa ibi pro Romana Ecclesia, nihil contra Romanam Ecclesiam in his scriptum intellexi, nisi quis forte ad voluntatem scriptoris non accedens, et unam faciem castorum eloquiorum non attendens, dicat, quod absit! authentica scripta sibi invicem adversari, et auctoritatem impugnari; cum multa dissona ibi legantur, nisi suo modo intelligantur, et ad sententiam scriptoris accommodentur': Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 67, in *PL* 162, cols 85–87 (col. 85B,C). This concerns the disputed election of Daimbert at Sens. Ivo had apparently been accused of composing letters contrary to Rome on Daimbert's behalf prior to his consecration. Ivo vehemently denies this charge (85B) and vigorously asserts his loyalty to Rome. In doing so, he reveals his study of canon law. See Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 153 and n. 7.

[54] An older but still useful work related to this topic is Arnold Reincke, *Die Schuldialektik im Investiturstreit: Eine geistesgeschichtliche Studie*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 11 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937), pp. 67–68.

Investiture Contest. He remained confident, however, that the truth and fundamental internal agreement of tradition could not be disturbed.

Such defence of the diversity, but essential harmony, of tradition was not unusual in Ivo's day.[55] However, Ivo's use of vivid medical imagery in making his case is striking. The *remedies* of tradition do not conflict; the judge seeks the appropriate, moderate solution. Unlike later theorists, Ivo is not primarily concerned with concordance.[56] His objectives are the selection and proper application of the right law from the valid remedies of tradition. One is reminded more of Gregory the Great than the contemporary *magistri* of northern France who were reshaping such traditional hermeneutics into dialectical method.[57]

Ivo differed greatly from the majority of his contemporaries who argued over the connection between jurisprudence and Roman primacy, treating questions of law — including dispensation — in light of papal jurisdiction. These men were primarily monks and clerics, with few bishops in their midst; even these few bishops, like Anselm of Lucca and Deusdedit, were closely tied to Rome. Ivo was a French bishop. This difference profoundly influenced his understanding of dispensation. As bishop, Ivo turned to the canons not for theoretical speculation but in order to make decisions; most of his contemporaries never laboured under that responsibility.

At the end of his treatise, Ivo returns to *caritas*:

> We are able to gather many proofs, many examples of this sort, but these few should satisfy the prudent reader, who knows how to discern many things from a few examples. Nonetheless, what we have admonished before let us say again: if anyone connects what he reads concerning ecclesiastical sanctions or dispensations to charity, which is the fullness of law, he will neither err nor sin. And when he avoids maximum

[55] Brasington, 'Prologues to Canonical Collections as a Source for Jurisprudential Change', pp. 232–37.

[56] On Ivo's limited interests in concordance in contrast with the dialectical pursuits of others, see Robert Kretzschmar, *Alger von Lüttichs Traktat de misericordia: Ein kanonistischer Konkordanzversuch aus der Zeit des Investiturstreits*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter, 2 (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1985), p. 59 and n. 8.

[57] Among various studies, see Paul Meyvaert, 'Diversity within Unity: A Gregorian Theme', *Heythrop Journal*, 4 (1963), 141–62; Straw, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 250–51. See also Giles Constable, 'The Diversity of Religious Life and Acceptance of Social Pluralism in the Twelfth Century', in *History, Society, and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick*, ed. by Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 29–47 (especially pp. 30–31).

> rigour because of some good reason, charity will excuse him, provided he has usurped nothing against the Gospel, nothing against the apostles.[58]

Ivo counsels mercy, provided neither the Gospels nor apostolic traditions — the immoveable core of the canons — are violated. He also turns to the New Testament for a final time, echoing, as noted above, the words of St Paul: 'Love is the fullness of law.' His audience would also have read his quotation in complete context, for its conclusion contributes as well to the closing of the *Prologue*. Paul's full words read: 'Love your fellow-man as yourself. Whoever loves his fellow-man will never do him wrong. Love, then, is the fullness of the law.'[59] The *Prologue*'s conclusion sums up the central objective of the work, an eloquent argument in a time of crisis in favour of Paul's pastoral concern, a concern that embraces both the theory and practice of ecclesiastical discipline. Paul's message to the troubled Corinthians spoke again to the turmoil of Ivo's day, a confident message of love that can heal all disputes.

The lessons of Ivo's *Prologue* are scattered throughout his subsequent letters. We find an excellent example in a letter written concerning Galo, a former pupil at Beauvais. The subject was episcopal translation, an enduring question in canon law and, given the heightened sensitivity to tradition during the ecclesiastical reform, particularly problematic for men like Ivo who wanted to preserve the force of the ancient canons but also to recognize how current circumstances sometimes demanded their dispensation. In 1092, Galo had been elected Bishop of Beauvais, but was subsequently prevented from taking office because of royal opposition.[60] In the summer of 1104, the clergy and people of Paris, following a rapprochement between King Philip and his son Louis, elected Galo as their bishop. In a letter shortly after this election, we have a clear statement of Ivo's views on translation, as he attempts to persuade his superior, Daimbert of Sens,

[58] 'Possesemus de hujusmodi plurimas rationes, plurima exempla colligere, sed prudenti lectori et ei qui nouit de paucis plurima intelligere, debent predicta sufficere. Quod tamen iam monuimus, iterum monemus, ut si quis quod legerit de sanctionibus siue dispensationibus ecclesiasticis, ad caritatem que est plenitudo legis referat, non errabit, non peccabit; et quando aliqua probabili ratione a summo rigore declinabit caritas excusabit; et tamen nihil contra euangelium nihil contra apostolos usurpauerit': Ivo of Chartres, *Prologue*, ed. by Werckmeister, pp. 126–28; see also Brasington, 'The Prologue', p. 253.

[59] 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum. Dilectio proximi malum non operatur. Plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio': Romans 13. 9–10.

[60] Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 103.

to agree to the matter.[61] Because the election had been canonical, with both metropolitan and papal approval, Ivo asks Daimbert to consent. Since Galo had never been able to obtain his original see in Beauvais, he should be allowed to transfer.[62]

Two points stand out. First, while submitting the matter to Daimbert, Ivo does not emphasize the papal role in translation, beyond noting that necessary papal approval has been obtained. Second, personal interest in Galo's ongoing case may have played a role in Ivo's treatment of translation in his *Prologue*, where the subject occupies a key position in illustrating historical precedents where strict canonical rules have been suspended by reason of necessity and charity. Ivo composed the treatise in the years immediately following 1092, and his former student's difficult position at Beauvais, a place of considerable importance in Ivo's own life, may have sparked the illustration of dispensation through translation.

Among the several texts suitable for justifying dispensation in this instance, Ivo may have thus found a translation list preserved in the *Liber pontificalis* particularly attractive because of its opening example concerning Perigenes, who had been ordained bishop in Petra. But because the citizens there did not wish to receive him, the Bishop of Rome ordered him to take up the episcopacy of Corinth, since the bishop had died — which Perigenes subsequently did, serving there the remainder of his life.[63] Given events at Beauvais, this example of dispensation may have been a welcome precedent for Ivo. What mattered was that necessity could demand dispensation. The lessons of canon law need not bind the present; they could enable a beneficial dispensation for the greater good of the Church.

[61] Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 146, *PL* 162, cols 151D–152B. On Galo's election, see *Ep.* 144, *PL* 162, cols 150B–151B, and *Ep.* 145, *PL* 162, col. 151C,D; see also Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, p. 112.

[62] 'Nos quantum in nobis est eidem electioni assensum praebentes, paternitati vestrae suggerimus, quatenus eidem electioni astipulando, a domno papa postuletis ut praedictum episcopum per manum vestram transferri praecipiat, cum propriam sedem obtinere non valeat' ('as much as we can, we offer assent to this election, recommending to your paternity that you agree to the same election, too, and that you ask the lord pope that he command the aforesaid bishop to be translated through your hand, since he is not able to take up his own see'): Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 146, *PL* 162, cols 151–52 (col. 152A).

[63] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. by L. Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886–92), III (1892), 52. A manuscript containing this report is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS latin 1346, fols 13^{v}–15^{r}.

Ivo believed that the canons were far more than rules and regulations to guide the Church. They were expressions of God's love. They alone conveyed divine mercy, which was sufficient to solve all disputes. A good example of this conviction appears in a letter of 1111 written shortly after his imprisonment and the publication of Paschal II's investiture privilege. He commented on worldly law with words echoing the *Prologue*: 'Where human judgments fail, divine mercy must be sought until, with the peace of the unsevered branches preserved, those cut off from the unity of the Church endeavour to be reformed and once more delight in fellowship with the intact branches.'[64] Secular law always yields to divine mercy; only the Church matters in the end. Only in Her can the ultimate unity and mercy be found to life's struggles. Human law had its place, but it, unlike the canons, had its limits.

Another example of how the *Prologue*'s lesson of *caritas* informed Ivo's letters appears in a letter of 1109.[65] Here Ivo wrote to Pope Paschal II about the troubles of the see of Reims, which still lacked an undisputed archbishop since the death of Manasses in 1106. King Philip I had installed his own candidate, Gervais, as bishop in 1106. Paschal had instead appointed Richard, Archdeacon of Verdun, as the new Archbishop, but Richard had remained with the Emperor, who had also offered him the see. The Pope then nominated Radulf, provost of Reims cathedral, to be the new bishop, but he had been unable to take the see because of Philip's opposition. Reims was caught in a stalemate. With the accession of Louis VI in 1108, Pope Paschal had, through Abbot Suger, finally been able to gain royal support for Radulf.[66] Louis did not, however, give his support freely. The price for accepting the papal candidate was an oath of homage that, the King claimed, had always been made by the Archbishops of Reims to the Kings of France. Such royal claims were the last thing Paschal wanted to hear, but Ivo pleaded with him to compromise:

[64] 'Ubi enim succumbunt humana judicia, divina est expetenda misericordia, quatenus insitorum conservata pace ramorum, et ipsi qui precisi sunt unitati Ecclesiae studeant reformari et insitorum ramorum societate laetari': Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 233, *PL* 162, cols 235–36 (col. 236C). This echoes the excerpt of the *Prologue* from Augustine's letter to Boniface, *Ep.* 185, c. 44, in *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi Epistulae: Pars IV. Ep. CLXXXV–CCLXX*, ed. by Alosius Goldbacher, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, 57 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1923), p. 39.

[65] Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 190, in *PL* 162, cols 196B–197C.

[66] See, in general, Peter O'Keefe, 'A History of the Metropolitan Office at Rheims from Hincmar (845–882) to the "Romana Ecclesia" of Innocent IV (1243–1254)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 1971), especially at pp. 144–46.

> The best men of the whole court are arguing and persuading that if it was not done according to the rigour of canonical mandates, it was nevertheless done, since it facilitated the peace and fraternal love of the church. Since charity ought to be the fullness of law, we believe that it ought to be tempered in those laws, in which we know the work [of charity] to be fulfilled. Therefore we beg, with heart's bended knee, that by reason of this same charity and peace your fatherly moderation would hold acceptable what eternal law has not made illicit but rather the prohibition of leaders whose intention was to acquire liberty. [. . .] If indeed apostolic authority wishes to judge strictly all things which it dispenses with medicinal condescension, it will happen that virtually all ministers will renounce their offices. [. . .] Whence apostolic sublimity teaches that it may be yielded to the necessity of the moment and the authority of the orthodox [Fathers agrees], saying that where dissensions of the people [*strages populorum*] are present, the severity of the canons ought to be relaxed, so that sincere charity may help the healing of greater ills.[67]

Charity alone can solve the dispute at Reims and the challenge to tradition posed by Philip's demand for homage. Ivo places opposition to homage among the dispensable laws, historically grounded and capable of suspension and change. The overriding threat of discord among the people, *strages populorum* — echoing a letter of Augustine concerning the Donatists[68] — necessitates dispensation, the accommodation of the moveable demands of tradition, to achieve harmony and peace.

Conclusion

Perhaps a renaissance must consist of equal parts crisis and creativity, for the decades following Ivo's death had both in good measure. In response to this

[67] 'Quod persuadentibus et impellentibus totius curiae optimatibus, et si propter mandatorum rigorem minus licebat, factum est tamen, quia ecclesiasticae paci et fraternae dilectioni sic expediebat. Cum enim plenitudo legis sit charitas, in hoc legibus obtemperaturum esse credimus, in quo charitatis opus impletum esse cognovimus. Petimus ergo flexis genibus cordis, ut hoc eodem intuitu charitatis et pacis veniale habeat paterna moderatio, quod illicitum facit non aeterna lex, sed intentione acquirendae libertatis praesidentium sola prohibitio [. . .] Si enim vult apostolica auctoritas omnia quae medicinali condescensione dispensantur districte judicare, oportebit pene omnes ministros administrationibus suis renuntiare [. . .] Unde necessitati temporum cedendum esse apostolica docet sublimitas, et orthodoxorum consulit auctoritas dicens: quia ubi populorum strages jacent, detrahendum est aliquid canonum severitati, ut majoribus morbis sanandis charitas sincera subveniat': Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 190, in *PL* 162, cols 196D–197B.

[68] Augustine, *Ep.* 185, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis episcopi Epistulae: Pars IV.*, p. 39.

crisis, the challenges posed by the need to reconcile apparently discordant texts and apply them to an increasingly complicated society, men began to build, both in words and in stone. Cathedrals changed architectural form, and new curricula replaced older forms of instruction. A new variety of medieval culture took shape, a scholastic world based on clarity and order, where structure not only promoted precision and harmony but also existed for its own sake. Erwin Panofsky has described for us how words and stone reflected this new phase in the cultural development of the West: 'It was, however, in architecture that the habit of clarification achieved its greatest triumphs. As High Scholasticism was governed by the principle of *manifestatio*, so was High Gothic architecture dominated [. . .] by the principle of transparency.'[69] *Manifestatio* offered the clear, structured, convincing demonstration of logical proof. Here was the new educational imperative. This was the ideal of a scholastic culture whose architecture reflected the order and relentless dialectic of scientific law and theology. It also contrasts with Ivo's message in the *Prologue*, a message with an architecture of its own.

Panofsky contrasts the complementary principles of scholasticism, uniformity, and hierarchy with the Romanesque ideal of variety of forms within unity. The careful differentiation and association of the *summa* mirrored the uniform, articulated structure of the Gothic cathedral.[70] Reason, order, and clarity guided both scholar and architect. Viewed from this perspective, Ivo's jurisprudence seems a curious hybrid. The *Prologue*'s attention to legal categories and context points the way to this scholastic structure and precision. Ivo's letters also reflect a similar intent to explain carefully terms and their context. There is, however, no sense of hierarchy in either the *Prologue*'s structure or in the arguments laid out in his letters. Both are characterized by variety, a variety of authorities and interpretations radiating outwards from an undivided unity in *caritas*. Ivo's teaching spread outwards, not upwards, more an image of solid, rounded Romanesque than vaulting, rational Gothic. Like the Romanesque cathedral whose walls provided the solid framework for the display of murals and mosaics,[71] the *Prologue* fashioned a discursive argument for the unity of law and *caritas*, adorned with examples from the whole of sacred tradition. While others would use his categories to harmonize, organize, and build upon the contradictions of

[69] Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: Meridian, 1976), p. 43.

[70] Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture*, pp. 43–49.

[71] Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, Bollingen Series, 48 (New York: Pantheon, 1956), pp. 4–5.

tradition, these contradictions were still sheltered by the solid walls of *caritas*. The concern for transparency does not shape Ivo's jurisprudence, for the light of *caritas* is still sufficient in the law. Light did not need to be brought into the Church; it was already present in the house built by charity.

A careful reading of Ivo's teaching leaves many impressions, but none more lasting than his sustained argument for the vitality of Christian love in law. The ancient vocation that called the Bishop to guide his flock and arbitrate its disputes is evident in everything he wrote. He was called to teach. His lesson was love. It was all that mattered.



Figure 14. The City of Laon, where Guibert of Nogent was involved in the political disputes between the bishops and the commune. Photograph by Jay Rubenstein

Guibert of Nogent's Lessons from the Anglo-Norman World

Jay Rubenstein

Teaching and learning do not necessarily require formal structures. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries teachers would have imparted lessons not only in the classroom but also through informal conversation about any number of topics. The students of St Anselm, particularly his biographer Eadmer of Canterbury and the recorder of his *dicta* Alexander of Canterbury, have made famous their master's gift for edifying discourse.[1] While Anselm was surely one of the most gifted teachers in the medieval world, his style of instructive conversation was not atypical. Examples of enlightened talk and moralizing anecdotes litter monastic narratives, particularly in the twelfth century. One of our best examples of a preacher, conversationalist, and raconteur from this period is Guibert of Nogent (*c.* 1060–1125), the French abbot who directed his monastery in the shadows of the nascent university at Laon and who participated in some of the theological controversies raised there and at Soissons. The audiences for his lessons were mostly monastic, but he did on occasion venture into the outside world. After the murder of Gerard de Quierzy at Laon, for example, it was Guibert who gave the sermon for purification at the cathedral. On at least two occasions Guibert sat in on the court of Louis VI, once actually close enough to the King to deliver into his ear a dire warning about his conduct.[2] On a less

The author would like to thank Sally Vaughn for her help with the preparation of this essay, and Karin Fuchs, who provided valuable advice and debate during its composition.

[1] On Anselm's gift for conversation, see R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 382.

[2] While the King was performing the miracle of touching for scrofula; I will discuss this incident in detail below.

grand scale, Guibert describes for us the public sermon offered by a sort of ecclesiastical flim-flam man during a relic tour and says that the preacher actually singled out Guibert to the audience.

> And while he was inappropriately bellowing out his speech about the relics, he held up a reliquary and said (and I was there in person), 'Be aware that this box holds a bit of the very bread which the Lord chewed with his own teeth! And if you doubt me in the slightest, behold, your hero!' he said. 'Right here!' He was talking about me. 'You know how terribly well-learned he is. He'll stand as my witness, if necessary.'[3]

Guibert was someone who was known outside his immediate community, who had interacted with people at a variety of social levels, and who therefore would have felt a need to communicate lessons on a variety of topics. Perhaps he was also a teacher who, like Anselm, knew how to temper his words to suit his different audiences. We know at least that he did think in the abstract about the preacher's mission, since he has left us with a manual on how to give a proper sermon. The advice in that pamphlet seems relevant to the teaching methods we are considering here. Preachers should aim to elicit a genuine emotional reaction from audiences. They should speak from their own experiences. And as much as possible they should litter their sermons with new ideas and unfamiliar themes.[4]

Guibert gives us two examples of actual sermons in his *Monodies*. The first is the one he preached to the monks at Nogent upon his election as abbot, and the second is the sermon of purification at Laon.[5] Both are dense exegetical interpretations of specific scriptural passages. Neither particularly follows the program he had outlined for himself. Probably closer to the authentic voice of Guibert the teacher is the rich collection of anecdotes, ideas, allegories, and cautionary fables he has left us scattered throughout his writing. Most of the recent analyses of

[3] 'Cunque super reliquiis suis sermonem plus equo extuberat, prolato philacterio ait — ego autem in presentiarum — : "Sciatis," inquit, "quod intra hanc capsulam de pane illo, quem propriis dominus dentibus masticavit, habetur. Et si minus a vobis creditur, ecce heros," ait, "iste," de me autem dicebat, "quem vos in litteris plurimum valere testamini, verbo meo si necesse fuerit testis assurget"': Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, in CCCM, 127 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), p. 98.

[4] Guibert of Nogent, *Quo ordine sermo fieri debeat*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, in CCCM, 127 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 47–63.

[5] The edition used for this text is Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. by Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981). In this article, however, it will be cited according to the title Guibert preferred, *Monodies*. References will be given according to book and chapter numbers, applicable to all versions of the text, and to the page number in Labande's edition. *Monodies* 2, 3, pp. 238–42 and 3, 6, pp. 306–10.

Guibert have focused on what he did not intend to tell through these stories, on what light he is casting onto the landscape of his troubled soul.[6] Comparatively little interest has developed around what Guibert intended us to learn. It is my contention here that we can find in his work several coherent themes and lessons, some of them with morals quite unexpected. Rather than aim at sweeping generalizations, however, I will focus on one particular image which recurs throughout Guibert's writing: his descriptions of the Anglo-Norman world and his attitude towards it. I choose this theme precisely because it does appear so frequently and also because it has attracted a fair degree of historical attention. Students of Guibert have long taken for granted his sense of pride in 'Frenchness', and his equal sense of distaste for those cross-Channel parvenus, the English. Then as now the love for one culture apparently precluded any affection for the other. The classic formulation of this argument appears in Marc Bloch's study of the *rois thaumaturges*. Guibert is, Bloch tells us, the first writer to describe for us the Capetian miracle — the ability of French kings to cure victims of scrofula by their touch. Guibert allows us to date the miracle to the time of Philip I, though Bloch suggests that the practice may have been much older.[7] Guibert concludes his description of the royal miracle with the following patriotic, if not chauvinistic, observation: 'How other kings conduct themselves in this regard, I forebear to say, except that no English king has ever dared such business.'[8] According to Bloch, this statement arises from Guibert's well-known, exaggerated patriotism.[9] He further suggests, somewhat counter-intuitively, that Guibert must have decided to include this observation because an English king, Henry I, had indeed begun to perform the miracle and that Guibert thus wished to defend the Capetian prerogative to cure scrofula.

Bloch's reading of the text grew out of a then canonical belief that Guibert was one of the first medieval men gifted with — or burdened by — a sense of national identity. Guibert's nineteenth-century biographer Bernard Monod was

[6] I refer especially to John Benton's introduction to *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970; repr., 1984) and also more recently Nancy Partner 'The Family Romance of Guibert of Nogent: His Story/Her Story', in *Medieval Mothering*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 357–77.

[7] Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Gallimard, 1924), pp. 29–31.

[8] 'Super aliis regibus qualiter se in hac re gerant supersedeo, regem tamen Anglicum neutiquam in talibus audere scio': Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 90.

[9] Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, p. 46.

the first writer to comment extensively on this precocious patriotism. It was an emotion inspired partly by French successes in the First Crusade, but more importantly, perhaps, it was an idea born out of the creation of the Capetian dynasty in 987 — 'a truly national dynasty'.[10] Whatever its origin, Guibert's patriotism confirmed for his nineteenth-century readers the Abbot's status as 'an almost modern man'.[11] Guibert's most famous twentieth-century revisionist, John Benton, attacked the notion of Guibert's modernity, but he left the Abbot's sense of French patriotism intact. Rather than admire this love of France, however, Benton argued that Guibert was so incapable of living in a world of concrete realities that only the most abstract and artificial identities, such as 'Frenchness', could command his affection.[12] For Benton, then, patriotism was not evidence for Guibert's proto-modernity, but rather formed part of the case for his status as proto-neurotic. The interpretation of the patriotism changed, but the reality of it survived intact.

This essay will suggest a very different interpretation of Guibert's attitudes towards the French and the English, and in doing so it will shed light on his teaching methods. For Guibert was, above all else, a teacher, in the tradition of his own master, Anselm of Bec, and when he wrote about the English and the French, he did so with some pedagogical end in mind. The Anglo-Norman leadership, secular and ecclesiastical, were not literary casualties to Guibert's Frankish pride. To the contrary, they served as examples of how kings and churchmen ought to fulfil the duties of their offices. And Guibert aimed this message at his own kings and bishops, Frenchmen, who were sadly lacking in English virtue.

This contention — that Guibert actually favoured the English over the French — might appear untenable. Guibert clearly and frequently expresses pride in his own Frankish identity, especially in his Crusade chronicle, *The Deeds of God through the Franks.* The Franks were, Guibert writes there, 'a race noble, prudent, warlike, bountiful and brilliant'.[13]

[10] Bernard Monod, 'L'Éveil du sentiment national en France au XI[e] siècle: Guibert de Nogent et Philippe I[e] (pour les noces d'August de Jules Roy et Alice Petit)' (Versaille, 1903), p. 6.

[11] The phrase is taken from an article by Abel Lefranc: 'Le traité des reliques de Guibert de Nogent et les commencements de la critique historique au moyen âge', in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dediées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1886), pp. 285–306 (p. 286).

[12] *Self and Society*, ed. by Benton, p. 30.

[13] 'Gens nobilis, prudens, bellicosa, dapsilis ac nitida': Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 127a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 2, 1, p. 109.

More than that, the Franks were the chosen people, the new Israelites whom God had quite literally led to the Promised Land. For it had largely been the Franks who had driven the Muslims from Jerusalem in 1099 and founded a Christian state there. Guibert's racial pride thus grows in part out of biblical exegesis. Old Testament stories worked as allegories not just for the coming of Christ but also for current events. The Jewish wars against the Canaanites prefigured the Christian wars against the Turks and the Fatimids. The Franks, however, were superior to their Jewish forebears who had fought and died only on behalf of a physical covenant with God, based on circumcision, the avoidance of pork, and other equally carnal rites.[14] It is, perhaps, the most common trope in Christian exegesis: the movement from the literal truth of the Jews, which blinds, to the spiritual reality of Christian motive and practice; the movement from carnal Jewish battles to a Christian warfare at once spiritual and physical.

Beyond the Jews, the Franks who travelled to the East compared favourably to contemporary European peoples, too. Consider, for example, the Scots, whom Guibert describes as 'fierce amongst themselves, impotent everywhere else, covered to their shins in woollen cloaks, pouches (*sitarcia*) dangling from their shoulders, sliding in from the swampy ends of the earth, to give us assistance through their faith and their devotion (their abundant weapons, to us at least, being absurd)'.[15] The Scottish foreignness, amusing in this passage, in other contexts strikes Guibert as dangerous. In his autobiography, written approximately seven years after the Crusade chronicle, he describes demons in a vision as 'carrying pouches (*sitarcia*) around their haunches as is the Scottish custom'.[16] Guibert also makes a point in his Crusade chronicle of arguing that the Germans did almost nothing to liberate Jerusalem. He associates them mainly with the catastrophic 'People's Crusade', which he memorably describes as a 'band of Germans and the faecal residue of our own people'.[17]

The suggestion of earlier commentators that Guibert is unique in his preference for such rhetoric is untenable. On the contrary, debates about national character seem to have been relatively common. Guibert himself brings up the

[14] Guibert, *Dei gesta* 6, 9, p. 240.

[15] 'Apud se ferocium, alias imbellium, cuneos, crure intecto, hispida clamide, ex humeris dependente sitarcia, de finibus uliginosis allabi et quibus ridicula, quantum ad nos, forent arma, copiosa suae fidei ac devotionis nobis auxilia presentare': Guibert, *Dei gesta* 1, 1, p. 89.

[16] 'In morem Scotorum sitarcias suas prono, ut assolent, clune portantium': Guibert, *Monodies* 2, 5, p. 252.

[17] 'Alemannorum aliqua frequentia et nostrorum fece residua': Guibert, *Dei gesta* 2, 9, p. 123.

topic of German military shortcomings when he describes an argument between himself and an archdeacon of Mayence. The archdeacon, apparently, had mocked the French for allowing Paschal II, then at war with the Emperor, to enter their territory. Guibert retorted to the cleric that he ought to remember which people Urban had called upon for help against the Turks. Germanic names, let alone Germanic deeds, were barely heard in the East.[18] Such arguments about national character were not confined to churchmen and to political topics like the Investiture Contest. Herman of Laon, a contemporary of Guibert, records the following event, which occurred in England in a collection of miracles about the relic tour undertaken by the canons of Laon, in order to raise funds for the rebuilding of their cathedral:

> A certain man there had a withered hand, and he kept a vigil before the reliquary in order to regain his health. Now it often happens that Britons and Franks will fight about King Arthur, and that man began to contend with one of our servants named Haganel, who was in the household of lord Guy, archdeacon of Laon. That man said that Arthur was still alive. From this no small tumult began, and many people rushed to the church with weapons. Were it not for the intervention of Algar [the canons' host, who had studied at Laon], there would have certainly been great bloodshed. This tumult in front of the reliquary, we believe, displeased Our Lady, since the man with the withered hand, who had stirred up the fight about Arthur, never did recover his health.[19]

Questions of cultural identity and cultural pride seem to have been widespread. Whether the topic was Jerusalem, the policies of Gregory VII, or the details of the Arthurian legend, such talk, then as now, could lead to insults, fisticuffs, and occasionally drawn weapons.

[18] Guibert, *Dei gesta* 2, 1, pp. 108–09.

[19] 'Quidam etiam vir ibidem manum aridam habens, coram feretro pro sanctitate recipienda vigilabat. Sed sicut Britones solent jurgari cum Francis pro rege Arturo, idem vir coepit rixari cum uno ex famulis nostris, nomine Haganello, qui erat ex familia domni Guidonis Laudunensis archidiaconi, dicens adhuc Arturum vivere. Unde non parvo tumultu exorto, cum armis ecclesiam irruunt plurimi, et nisi praefatus Algardus clericus obstitisset, pene usque ad sanguinis effusionem ventum fuisset. Quam rixam coram feretro suo factam credimus Dominae nostrae displicuisse, nam idem vir manum habens aridam, qui pro Arturo tumultum fecerat, sanitatem non recepit': Herman the Monk, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, in *PL* 156, cols 961–1018 (col. 983C,D). Herman locates the story in the region of 'Danavexeria'. It was a place heavily associated with Arthurian legend. One finds there, he says, just before the above-cited passage, 'the stove of King Arthur of the Britons, famous through legends' ('furnum illius famosi secundum fabulas Britannorum regis Arturi'), and it is generally said to have been the very land of King Arthur; ibid. col. 983B,C.

Seen in this context, Guibert's Frankish pride looks not at all precocious or unusual. Instead, when Guibert praised his own people and downplayed the abilities and achievements of other cultures, he was engaging in a dialogue that embraced all levels of society. Recent analyses have played down a medieval sense of national identity, but discussions of 'Frankishness' versus 'Englishness' versus 'Germanness' were very much a part of twelfth-century cultural life. We should therefore feel little surprise when Guibert describes Archbishop Manasses of Reims as 'imitating the royal leaders of foreign peoples, and even their barbaric manners'. He then clarifies, 'I have said "foreign", for among French kings there is such a natural modesty that they have, albeit unintentionally, borne out the words of the Sage: "They have made you a Prince; [be not lifted up,] but be among them like one of them"'.[20] Guibert, and others, saw the world as divided into distinct cultural groups that reflected to a degree politics, geography, cultural norms, and ethnicity. The question we shall now address is what lessons Guibert intended to teach when he spoke about these groups.

Clearly Guibert was proud of his people. It was not pride in the grand, proto-nationalistic sense that Lefranc and Monod believed it to be; nor was it in the abstract, depersonalized, and semi-neurotic sense that Benton suggested. Rather, Guibert felt the pride of an immediate connection with the accomplishments of the Franks. It was his people, the aristocratic warriors who spoke his language, who had conquered Jerusalem. He was not so much proud of his race as he was proud of his social circle. Remember that when Guibert wrote about the ordinary French people who joined Peter the Hermit's army, he compared them to faeces.[21] Guibert undoubtedly had non-noble men and women, particularly burghers, in mind, also, when he wrote, 'of all the provinces of France the people of Laon are the most abominable in their conduct'.[22] His Frankish pride thus bears little connection to the Frankish people as a whole. It also has nothing to do with Frankish government. The Crusade was remarkable in large part because the French had accomplished what they had done without a king. Just like the children of Israel, they had had no secular ruler to guide them, only a bishop,

[20] 'Ut regias peregrinarum gentium majestates, immo majestatum ferocitates imitari videretur. Peregrinarum dixi: in Francorum enim regibus ea viguit naturalis semper modestia, ut illud Sapientis dictum, etsi non in scientia, in actu tamen habuerint: "Principem," inquit, "te constituerunt[, noli extolli,] sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis"': Guibert, *Monodies*, 1, 11, pp. 62–64.

[21] Guibert, *Dei gesta* 2, 9, p. 123, as cited above, note 17.

[22] 'Super omnes Franciae provincias Laudunenses detestabiliora agunt': Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 15, p. 416.

Adhémar of Le Puy, who, in the words of Robert of Reims, Guibert's contemporary and fellow Crusade chronicler, acted 'as if a new Moses'.[23] Guibert and his intellectual peers were not the first to associate the Franks with the Israelites. Charlemagne's courtiers famously did so, but their exegesis depended upon the Emperor's correspondence to David.[24] Guibert, by contrast, looked towards the earlier books of the Bible and developed his ideas in ways that deliberately excluded kings.

None of the evidence cited thus far, in fact, indicates that Guibert felt any sort of pride in the French monarchy. Consider, for example, the passage quoted above, where Guibert compares Archbishop Manasses to barbaric foreign kings, and in doing so seems to praise the modesty of French monarchs. Guibert actually says in it nothing more than that foreign kings — probably the English in particular — had more money than did the French. The kings' natural modesty, it will be recalled, was unintentional, and it made true the words, 'They have made you a Prince; but be among them like one of them'. A medieval audience, untroubled by problems of nationalism, would have immediately caught the joke. The French kings, whether they liked it or not, were poor. It is thus a variation of the joke Walter Map would later attribute to Louis's son, Louis VII: 'But your lord, the king of England, who wants for nothing, has men, horses, gold, silk, jewels, fruits, game, and everything else. We in France have nothing but bread and wine and gaiety.'[25] The full intent of the joke is unmistakable if one bears in mind its connection to Manasses. According to Guibert, the Archbishop lives with all the pomp of a foreign king, whereas Louis VI lives like an ordinary

[23] Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolimitana* I, 4, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, vol. III (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1879), p. 730A.

[24] The use of Davidic imagery at the court of Charlemagne is well established. A useful and succinct account appears in Robert Folz, *Le Couronnement impérial de Charlemagne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), pp. 118–20. More recently, Mary Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114–61.

[25] 'Dominus autem tuus, rex Anglie, cui nichil deest, homines, equos, aurum et sericum, gemmas, fructus, feras et omnia possidet. Nos in Francia nichil habemus nisi panem et uinum et gaudium': Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, *dist.* v, c. 5, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 451. On the use of money in Guibert's *Monodies*, see Reinhold Kaiser, 'Das Geld in der Autobiographie des Abtes Guibert von Nogent', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 69 (1987), 289–314.

subject. The French social order is thus the inverse of what it ought to be, with ecclesiastics living like warriors and warriors living like ecclesiastics.[26]

Given their relative poverty, it is perhaps not surprising that French kings were especially susceptible to the vice of greed. Throughout recent memory, Guibert demonstrates, French kings had all but lived off of bribes. The avaricious Henry I regularly sold bishoprics for profit. His son Philip I was a man 'especially corruptible'.[27] Louis VI first came to Laon in order to impose justice after a murder but was willing to settle the issue after being offered a bribe. The people of Laon formed a commune, and Louis VI confirmed it because of a bribe. Bishop Gaudry went to the royal court to oppose the commune and offered up many bribes. The burghers countered with still more bribes.[28] Louis VI was not entirely bad in Guibert's eyes. He was an energetic leader and a fearless warrior, 'more than equal to his office in every way but one: he gave too much attention and thought to wicked, greedy people'.[29] For Guibert to be a French chauvinist, a man who instinctively defends the miraculous prerogative of the Capetian dynasty, would have required on his part an astonishing act of wilful amnesia.

The Anglo-Norman monarchs, admittedly, receive some similar criticism. William Rufus was, according to Guibert, a faithless man and an enemy of the Church. He based his opinion on at least some indirect experience of the King. The monks of Guibert's monastery, Saint-Germer de Fly, had apparently acquired a chasuble from Rufus, which the King himself had looted from Battle Abbey. A few years later, after Rufus had died in a hunting accident, a lightning bolt struck Saint-Germer and destroyed the chasuble. Guibert's placement of the two incidents seems to imply that the two events were connected.[30] He probably also felt a personal motive for his condemnation of Rufus, because of the latter's disputes with Anselm,[31] but Guibert's attitude was hardly unique. Anglo-

[26] Guibert's satiric purpose is thus not far removed from Adalbero of Laon, who wrote his famous satiric poem about Robert the Pious about a century before Guibert came to the region, described famously by Georges Duby in *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), pp. 62–76.

[27] Both points mentioned in Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 2, pp. 270–72.

[28] A brief summary of Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 6 and 3, 7.

[29] 'In hoc non aequissimus erat, quod vilibus et corruptis avaritia personis nimie aurem et animum dabat': Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 7, p. 330.

[30] Guibert, *Monodies* 1, 23, p. 188.

[31] See Sally N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 149–203.

Norman chroniclers were unanimous in their condemnation of this king. English kings were also implicated, according to Guibert, in the corruption of the French Church. One of many bad bishops at Laon, Héliand, had originally been chaplain to Edward the Confessor before bribing Philip in order to attain higher office.[32] The most corrupt bishop of them all, Gaudry, had been chancellor to Henry I, and Henry had bent canonical rules in order to aid in his election.[33] But Guibert really does not take either king to task for their association with these bishops. And it was probably no coincidence in Guibert's eyes that when Héliand and Gaudry began to desire higher office, they moved to France with purses at the ready.

Only two kings receive any real praise in Guibert's memoirs, and both are English, one fictional and one real. The fictional king is Quilius, King of the English, or, as Guibert notes astutely, the British, as they once were called. Quilius was a pagan leader who resolved through reason alone that his gods could not truly be gods, in part because of their diversity and in part because of their character. He then learned through a vision that he ought to visit Jerusalem, the centre of the world, where he might encounter the real God, the one God. He arrived shortly after Christ had died, met the Apostles, collected certain relics, and then started back home. Guibert, as is well known, often attacked churchmen who trafficked in physical remains, so it is probably no coincidence that Quilius brought back with him only objects associated with Christ's life — fragments of chains with which he had been bound, whips with which he had been beaten, a bit of the True Cross and of the Crown of Thorns, and fragments from the clothing of Mary and the Apostles. Quilius never made it back to Britain, however, instead dying at a pagan religious community in France, the future location of Guibert's monastery of Nogent. The King was buried there with his precious cargo, thereby assuring both the sanctity of the place and the purity of its tradition as a relic storehouse.[34]

The other king who receives a uniformly positive treatment is William the Conqueror. Like Quilius, William was a ruler who had directly affected Guibert's life and imagination. For before Guibert's birth, William had captured Guibert's father in an unnamed battle and had imprisoned him. The Duke of Normandy, contrary to his custom, showed restraint and allowed Guibert's

[32] Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 2, p. 270.

[33] Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 4, pp. 280–82.

[34] Guibert, *Monodies* 2, 1, is entirely devoted to the story of Quilius, of which the above paragraph is a paraphrase. His relic cargo is specifically described on p. 222.



Figure 15. Norman knights, capital from Saint-Georges de Boscherville. Photograph by Sally N. Vaughn.

father to go free.[35] It was a double blessing. On the one hand William had shown mercy to Guibert's family, without which Guibert most likely would not have been born. On the other hand, he had for a time imprisoned and punished Guibert's father, and Guibert clearly learned from his mother to hate the father he had never known. Among other things, his mother had taught him that her husband had suffered from extended bouts of impotence, that he had betrayed his marriage vow, and that he had deservedly been condemned to Purgatory.[36] William the Conqueror, therefore, on both counts — for showing mercy to his father and for capturing him in the first place — would have deserved Guibert's admiration.

[35] Guibert, *Monodies* 1, 13, pp. 88–90. Guibert never actually mentions in this section that his father was released, only that William never ransomed prisoners. But Evrard must have been released since Guibert says that he himself had not yet been born and since he tells us in Book 1, chapter 3 of his *Monodies* that his father was present at his birth.

[36] The details of Guibert's parents' marriage are well known from the *Monodies*. On impotence, Guibert, *Monodies* 1, 12, pp. 74–76; on Evrard's condemnation to Purgatory and on his adultery, Guibert, *Monodies* 1, 18, pp. 146–50.

Outside of this one point of direct connection, William was for Guibert a church builder. He does not mention Saint-Etienne's monastery at Caen built by the Conqueror, but he surely would have known of it. Its first abbot had been Lanfranc, who had been master to Anselm, Guibert's own teacher. Through Anselm Guibert also would have learned of the Conqueror's patronage of Bec.[37] Guibert notes directly that Mathilda, William's wife, had built a nunnery at Caen.[38] Finally, he describes a tower at Saint-Denis whose construction William had financed. The tower admittedly collapsed due to poor engineering during the building process, but the lesson to be drawn from the event is ambiguous. Guibert makes no explicit connection between the collapse of the tower and the character of King William — the responsibility for the disaster rests squarely with the engineers. The story also does not qualify as a narrative of divine vengeance. For the only man trapped in the rubble soon emerged unscathed. Through the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, moreover, the tower failed to damage an altar that lay directly in its path, an altar dedicated to St Edmund, the martyred King of England. The story seems to be a passing incident, one barely noteworthy in a chronicle full of the strange and miraculous, but for Guibert it must have had some special resonance. It is, after all, the very last thing he tells us in his memoirs.[39] When all of these points are added together, William the Conqueror looks very much like the ideal king: cruel to the deserving, merciful when the situation demands it, a patron to great men and scholars, and generous in his donations to monastic communities.

About William's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Guibert relates a more troubling story. He writes in his treatise *On the Relics of Saints* that Odo was devoted to a certain St Exuperius, one of his episcopal predecessors. The body was kept at Corbeil, where his cult especially flourished. Odo, therefore, decided to purchase the bones and transport them to Bayeux. He offered the church guardian — a wickedly clever man — one hundred pounds of silver in exchange for the saint. The wily guardian then slipped away to the cemetery and dug up the bones of a peasant named Exuperius and offered them to Odo. Odo asked the man whether he was sure the remains belonged to Exuperius. On oath, the guardian replied, 'I solemnly will swear this to you, that this is the body of

[37] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 30–34.

[38] Guibert, *Monodies* 1, 24, p. 194.

[39] Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 20, pp. 466–68.

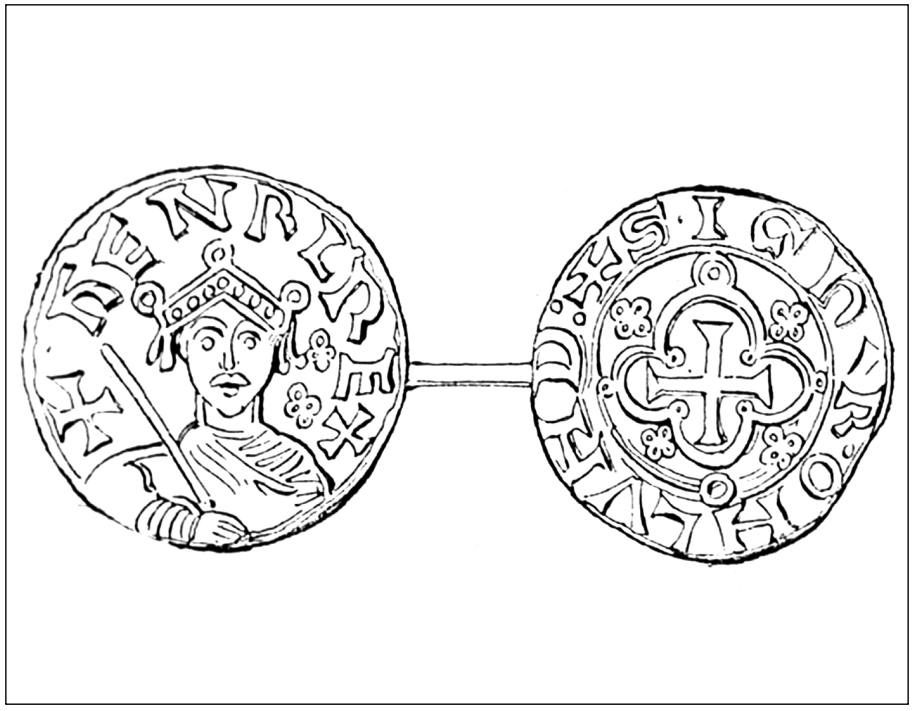


Figure 16. King Henry I of England, coin portrait, in Mme. De Witt, née Guizot, *Les Chroniqueurs de l'Histoire de France*, 4 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1883–86), II (1884), 55.

Exuperius; about his sanctity, I never will'.[40] Completely taken in by the man's guile, Odo paid for the bones and transported them to their new resting place. So many similar stories suggest themselves, Guibert concludes with a sigh, that he lacks the necessary energy to relate them.[41]

Bishop Odo was, of course, one of the most colourful figures in the Anglo-Norman world, a man who, according to Orderic Vitalis, 'generously bestowed the wealth he had accumulated by dubious means on churches and the poor'.[42] It is hardly likely that a man of Odo's shrewdness could have been so badly used by a church guardian. It is not unlikely, however, that he would have purchased

[40] '"Hoc [. . .] iureiurando tibi asseverabo quod corpus Exuperii sit, de sanctitate autem nunquam"': Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 104.

[41] Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 104.

[42] 'Quae facinorose aggregarat largitus est aecclesiis et pauperibus': OV IV (1973), 118–19.

a set of relics of uncertain authenticity, and that the church at Corbeil would later claim that he had taken from them nothing of value. As Guibert observes, and as more recent historians of popular culture have demonstrated, that sort of thing happened all the time in 'Gallic churches'.[43] Other twelfth-century writers seem to have shared Guibert's outlook. Eadmer of Canterbury, for example, does so in a letter he wrote to the monks of Glastonbury regarding their claim to have stolen the relics of St Dunstan. Eadmer expresses disbelief that Englishmen ever could have carried out such a theft and then asks the Glastonbury monks 'Why didn't you consult someone from across the sea, learned in many such things', more so at least than a simple, honest Englishman.[44]

But to return to the story of Odo of Bayeux and to what it might reveal about Guibert's attitude towards the Anglo-Normans, the villain here is not Odo himself, but the church guardian. And the lesson, appropriate to Guibert's aristocratic prejudices, is that the relic trade has begun to pollute the altars of Christ with the bodies of peasants.[45] Hardly anyone, Guibert observes, takes time to investigate the authenticity of their saints — either to discover whether the bones actually belong to the saint in question or whether the saint did in fact lead a saintly life. One notable exception, however, is Lanfranc of Canterbury, the Archbishop appointed by William the Conqueror. Referring to Eadmer's *Life of Anselm*, Guibert repeats with approval the famous incident where Lanfranc questioned whether his predecessor Elphege could truly be considered a saint, given that Elphege had died protecting the church's money and not confessing the faith.[46] Guibert does not refer to the end of the story — that Anselm convinced Lanfranc of the legitimacy of Elphege's sanctity, that Lanfranc subsequently commissioned a musical *historia* for the martyr, and that Elphege's feast was restored to prominence in the life of the cathedral. Those details do not concern

[43] 'Error qui Gallicanas precipue de sanctorum corporibus obsedit aecclesias' ('an error which especially haunts Gallic churches in their treatment of saints' bodies'): Guibert, *Dei gesta* 1, 5, p. 103.

[44] 'Quare non consuluistis aliquem hominem transmarinum, qui in multis conversati': Eadmer, *Epistola Eadmeri ad Glastonienses*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS (London: Longman, 1874), p. 415.

[45] 'Dum ossa vulgaria pro sanctorum pigneribus venundanda dispertiant' ('when they distribute for sale commoners' bones as if the relics of saints'): Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 104.

[46] Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 88. The story originally appears in *VA*, pp. 50–54.

him, and perhaps Guibert was even a little disappointed in his former teacher for enabling such things to happen. If we had only Guibert's incomplete version of events and not Eadmer's, we would have assumed that Lanfranc remained a sceptic; and it is this healthy Anglo-Norman scepticism that the Abbot of Nogent wishes his audience to remember.

Indeed, as far as relics are concerned Guibert must have admired Lanfranc to a greater degree than he did Anselm. Guibert would perhaps have had little reason to condemn outright a defence of Elphege's dubious sanctity, but he must have been gravely disappointed to read later about the treatment Anselm and Eadmer had given the bones of St Prisca. Eadmer was invited to break off a piece of the saint for his own collection. Not only did Anselm watch over the entire ritual, but when Eadmer received a bone fragment that was smaller than what he had hoped for, Anselm actually comforted him: 'Truly I tell you [. . .] that the lady whose bone it is will not fail to claim it for herself on the day of general Resurrection. Wherefore, if you have treated it with proper reverence, that will be as acceptable to her as if you had done so to her whole body'.[47] It would certainly have seemed a serious misstep on Anselm's part, and perhaps, for Guibert, a sign of his old master's limitations.

In this case Eadmer and Anselm had engaged in what was, for Guibert, the most emotionally disturbing aspect of the relic trade: the physical dismemberment of saints.[48] He vividly describes this sense of unease in a rhetorically masterful passage written against the monks of Saint-Médard, who claimed to possess a baby tooth of Christ: Are we to believe that at the resurrection, 'Jesus's mouth might open and await the missing tooth, or else his up-until-that-moment gaping jaw will at last welcome back the wandering tooth?'[49] On the other side, Guibert holds up as admirable a saint who deliberately resisted every effort to tear apart his body: St Edmund, the Anglo-Saxon king, whose altar at Saint-Denis the Blessed Virgin had miraculously spared during the tower's collapse. Guibert notes in both his relic treatise and in his memoirs that one Abbot of Bury-St-Edmund's had opened the Saint's tomb to see if the head really had reattached itself to the body. The Abbot twisted and yanked on it, while another

[47] 'In veritate quippe dico tibi [. . .] non omitteret domina ipsa cujus est quin illud sibi vindicaret in die resurrectionis cunctorum. Quam ob rem si debitam illi reverentiam exhibueris, aeque suscipiet, ac si toti corpori ejus exhiberes': *VA*, pp. 133–34.

[48] *Self and Society*, ed. by Benton, pp. 29–30.

[49] 'Tunc forsitan venturo Iesus denti locum aperiet aut hiulca adhuc fauce dentem tunc vagabundum hucusque recipiet': Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 140.

monk pulled at the Saint's feet, but the head and neck remained stubbornly intact. Even though nothing untoward happened to the saint's body as a result of this poking and prodding, the Abbot afterwards lost all use of his hands.[50] Guibert adds in his memoirs a tale of how Edmund had once cured a roebuck. 'Imagine how much more the blessed martyr would do if a prayer were addressed to him faithfully by a person!'[51] He then follows this tale with another miracle by another Anglo-Saxon holy man, St Swithun of Winchester, who cured a monk of leprosy in his hands.[52]

In relating such stories, Guibert very much follows in the tradition of his teacher, St Anselm, which is to say, he uses miraculous and ordinary events to impart lessons about moral behaviour. The first St Edmund story teaches us to respect the peace of the dead. The second, about the animal, encourages us to think about the role of Reason and Intention in the prayers we offer. In the third story St Swithun cures the monk so that he can participate in the liturgical offices. Guibert is, moreover, the student of another theologian and historian and of someone whose name is synonymous with England: the venerable Bede. Bede, Guibert writes near the end of his relic tract, did not relate miracle stories for the sake of wonderment alone, but he did so in order that the miracles might impart useful lessons.[53] The relic trade, and most relic miracles, related nothing beneficial. They entertained but contributed nothing to the faith, and they often were insulting to the memory of the saints. The majority of them were not worth the serious attention of any reader, writer, or thinker. How very different were modern French saints' Lives, which Guibert himself had been solicited to write — hagiographies for nonexistent saints?[54] On occasion he had gone as far as to investigate certain dubious claims to sanctity and had discovered, for example, that the martyred St Pyro had apparently died after falling drunk into a well.[55] English hagiography, which he would have known primarily through Bede, must have seemed far saner than the frontier mentality which prevailed around twelfth-century Frankish shrines.

[50] Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, pp. 107–08, and Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 20, p. 460.

[51] 'Quid faciet pius martyr, si petatur fideliter in humana natura': Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 20, p. 460.

[52] Guibert, *Monodies* 3, 20, p. 462.

[53] Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, pp. 160–61.

[54] Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 102.

[55] Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 88.



Figure 17. Seal of William the Conqueror, from *Master Wace: His Chronicle of the Norman Conquest from the Roman de Rou*, trans. by Edgar Taylor (London: William Pickering, 1837), p. 260.

Let us pause now to review briefly Guibert's perceptions of the Anglo-Norman world and the lessons he drew from it. The English had richer kings than the French and, in many cases, better kings. English archbishops were almost above reproach. English saints knew how to maintain an otherworldly dignity, and one English historian had set precedents for the treatment of miracles that Guibert strove to follow. In all these cases, Guibert makes his points about the virtue of the Anglo-Normans as a way of criticizing the French, whose kings were greedy, whose recent bishops were hopelessly corrupt, whose relic cults centred around false or mangled saints, and whose hagiographies were notoriously unreliable. Like Bede, Guibert does not tell tales without purpose. He uses the Anglo-Normans as a way to urge improvement among the Franks.

What then are we to do with the famous passage that has most often served as evidence for Guibert's patriotism — his description of the Royal Touch? Readers of it have almost from the first misunderstood Guibert's intent in describing the miracle, because they approached it with the assumption that he was a French patriot, or a chauvinist, or a bigot. Let us return to the passage, now in its entirety and with full knowledge of Guibert's pedagogic methods:

> What about the marvel which our Lord Louis customarily performs, as I myself have seen? I have seen those who suffer from scrofula around the throat or elsewhere in their

> body come to him in crowds for his touch, given with the sign of the cross. I stood close by him and forbade it. He, however, with his usual liberality drew them to him with a serene hand and humbly made the sign. His father Philip used to perform the glory of this miracle regularly, but he lost it — I don't know what faults prevented him. How other kings conduct themselves in this regard, I forebear to say, except that no English king has ever dared such business.[56]

One must note immediately a point which has received too little emphasis: Guibert introduces this passage not in order to show that the French kings are holy or sacral, but as a way of demonstrating that people who are not saints can, on occasion, perform miracles. He introduces the incident with several examples of pagan kings who worked magic, and he follows the story by reminding readers of the divine rapture experienced by Balaam's ass. French kings thus stand squarely between pagans and dumb animals. The overall conclusion is that miracles are morally neutral. By themselves they tell us nothing of the virtue of the person who performs them. But more to the point, in this instance the performance of a miracle actually represented something culpable. Guibert himself urged Louis not to do it. Why did he criticize the King? Most probably, to return to an earlier theme, because kings, like bishops, have set roles. It is the responsibility of churchmen and saints to distribute the power of God. It is the role of the king to enforce God's justice on earth. Miracles are not properly a part of that function. Whether the king can perform the miracle tells us nothing about that particular person's worth as king.[57] The fact that a king would attempt such a miracle, however, does tell us something about that king's character, and it is not something to be admired.

Admittedly, Guibert engages in a bit of intellectual dishonesty here, or at least in intellectual inconsistency, when he remarks that Philip lost the ability to perform this miracle. Guibert could be referring here to Philip's marital adventures, his dispute with the pope, or his regular acts of simony. Whatever the case,

[56] 'Quid, quod dominum nostrum Ludovicum regem consuetudinario uti videmus prodigio? Hos plane qui scrophas circa iugulum aut uspiam in corpore patiuntur ad tactum eius, superaddito crucis signo, vidi catervatim, me ei cohaerente et etiam prohibente, concurrere, quos tamen ille ingenita liberalitate serena ad se manu obuncans humillime consignabat. Cuius gloriam miraculi cum Philippus pater eius alacriter exerceret, nescio quibus incidentibus culpis amisit. Super aliis regibus qualiter se in hac re gerant supersedeo, regem tamen Anglicum neutiquam in talibus audere scio': Guibert, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, p. 90.

[57] Philippe Buc has examined how other medieval thinkers dealt with the problem of the Capetian miracle, thereby wrestling with similar issues, in 'David's Adultery with Bathsheba and the Healing Power of the Capetian Kings', *Viator*, 24 (1993), 101–20.

Guibert suggests that the King had lost a morally neutral ability — the ability to touch for scrofula — because of his own amorality. But of course, in reality, Guibert intends this aside only to mock Philip, not to make a serious theological point. Taking advantage of every opportunity to ridicule French kings is, for Guibert, more important than maintaining a consistent line of reason.

Finally, we ought to consider the meaning behind Guibert's conclusion that the English kings had never performed such a miracle. Does he attempt here to denigrate the abilities, the legitimacy, or the sacrality of the Anglo-Norman kings? Again, his precise diction suggests otherwise. He does not say that the English kings cannot touch for scrofula; rather, they have not dared to do so. Since Guibert himself opposed the practice, we must presume that the English kings avoided it not because they were weaker than their French counterparts. Instead, they probably did so because, as we have observed from other evidence, they were more sensible. Our first reporter of the miracle of the Royal Touch is also our first critic of it. In this as in so many other practices, Guibert would say, the French should follow the examples set by the English.

We must now conclude that one commonly held belief about the character of Guibert of Nogent — that he felt a chauvinistic pride in his French identity, and a corresponding distaste for the English — is in need of modification. Guibert indeed took pride in the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem, in large part because of his sense of shared identity with the warrior class. For the ordinary French people Guibert felt a general sense of disdain, and for French kings he felt a healthy contempt. French churchmen and French ecclesiastical practices, similarly, were prone to corruption. When in need of an example to counter the prevailing tendencies in French society, Guibert turned most often to the English. Their saints maintained their integrity, their archbishops seemed paragons of virtue and probity, and their kings were far less prone to blunders than their French counterparts. The English were not perfect, but they did make excellent foils for the French. This polemic also occurs against a broader dialogue about cultural and linguistic identity, which has suggested that medieval men and women were far more aware of regional or even national groupings than we generally assume.

But setting aside specific points of French-ness and English-ness, what we have seen in Guibert's various anecdotes is a coherent pattern of thought which links together otherwise disparate incidents. The pattern which binds them together only appears when the various stories from various texts are placed side-by-side, though perhaps the lessons would have been more immediately clear if we did not view them through our own prejudices about national identity. Even

in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at the time of their first telling, the moral lessons behind anecdotes related through conversation must have sometimes eluded their audiences. Adam of Eynsham, biographer and disciple of St Hugh of Lincoln, includes in his narrative an account of the murder of a merchant, and of how the merchant's loyal dog led a group of knights to the body. It is an entertaining story, but Adam is frankly stumped as to what the point of it was. He defends his decision to include it in his book by writing, 'This story should not seem excessive to the reader, as the great bishop himself did not think it amiss to relate it often when many important personages were present'.[58] The story delighted Adam, as it was intended even if it did fail to edify.

Eadmer similarly records a story told by St Anselm, whose moral seems obvious but whose intent appears to have escaped him. Once when Anselm was sick, he experienced a heavenly vision in which he learnt three things. First, an angelic guide revealed to him the 'river of the world', whose filthy, polluted waters people willingly rode, delighting in the turmoil and corruption and apparently oblivious to the dangers that faced them. Second, he saw a vision of the monastic life as a peaceful, spacious enclosure with silver walls and soft, silvery grass. Finally, the angelic guide asked Anselm if he wished to know the secret of true patience. Anselm answered that he most certainly did, only to awake immediately, 'stricken with sorrow and grief'.[59] It is a story with a playful, perhaps slightly annoying, lesson: to learn patience Anselm and his disciples must accept ignorance and wait. But, if Eadmer understood the punch line, he gives us no indication. He notes only that Anselm was sorry not to have heard the answer.

Perhaps therein lies the final lesson in this essay about lessons. Against the backdrop of the school of Laon, alongside sophisticated and complex works of biblical exegesis and increasingly elaborate historical treatises, the most common way of teaching was the narrative — the miracle story, the random anecdote, or the off-the-cuff analogy — imparted sometimes through sermons and sometimes through simple conversation, preserved for us on occasion in any number of textual forms. If the precise meaning of their lessons sometimes escapes us, we are in that respect hardly different from the audiences who initially heard them.

[58] 'Hec nos de hiis scripsisse lectori non sit onerosum, que tanto pontifici, multis et magnis plerumque uiris presentibus, referre non uidebatur superfluum': Adam of Eynsham, *Magna vita S. Hugonis*, ed. and trans. by Decima L. Douie and Dom Hugh Farmer, 2 vols (London: T. Nelson, 1961–62; rev. edn, 1985), I, 12–14 (p. 14).

[59] 'Dolens ac gemebundus': *VA*, p. 36.

For the hallmark of a good teacher was not simply how striking or memorable the images were which his lessons imparted. Anyone, like the monks of Saint-Médard, could imagine that a pulled tooth had once belonged to the baby Jesus. Only the best teachers could force their students to look for meaning in the murder of a merchant, in the healing of an animal, or in the contrasting cultures of England and France.



Figure 18. Cleric and Bishop or Abbot, after Ninth-Century Miniatures, Biblia Sacra, in the Royal Library of Brussels; from Paul La Croix, *Moeurs, Usages et Costumes au Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1872), p. 559.

St Anselm's Forgotten Student: Richard of Préaux and the Interpretation of Scripture in Early Twelfth-Century Normandy

William L. North

In Marjorie Chibnall's magisterial survey *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, she richly and sympathetically portrayed the many vibrant strands that comprised the tapestry of Norman teaching and learning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among these strands of monastic culture she noted, in particular, the monks' ongoing interest in liturgical reform and interpretation, their devotion to hagiography, and their impressive contributions to the historiography of their institutions and their times (not the least of which was Orderic's own massive history).[1] Theology and biblical exegesis — one of theology's principal forms in the monastic milieu — also emerge from her account as central preoccupations of Norman monks. Indeed, she found their commitment to reading and interpreting the *sacra pagina* amply, and tangibly, demonstrated by the surviving monastic library catalogues that record book chests rich in eleventh- and twelfth-century copies of patristic and Carolingian classics as well as by new works of exegesis and *florilegia*.[2] Yet, while the existence in Normandy of monastic interest in biblical interpretation may be incontestable, Chibnall conceded that the actual shape of their interests — the questions they asked, the techniques they used, their attitudes towards exegesis as either a spiritual or learned

[1] Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 86–116.

[2] Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, pp. 89–99; for the library catalogues, see Geneviève Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Paris: Editions P. Lethielleux, 1971).

praxis, to say nothing of their actual interpretations of specific biblical texts — remained almost entirely unknown. She added that, 'Study of this formative period in exegesis is still handicapped by the lack of editions of the immense literature of monastic piety; indeed, many of the works are anonymous or wrongly attributed'.[3]

Despite Chibnall's implicit, and well-justified, call for further editorial and interpretive work on the abundant remains of monastic exegesis in Normandy, the landscape of biblical studies in the Anglo-Norman realm at the dawn of the twelfth century continues to be largely terra incognita. In leaving this region of twelfth-century Europe's intellectual map unexplored, however, scholars have missed an opportunity to understand better the interests and dynamics of what was, in many respects, a regional intellectual community, a zone in which institutions and individuals were often bound together by ties of reform, institutional affiliation, and friendship, and drew on each others' strengths to meet their intellectual needs.[4] Furthermore, as scholars pursue with ever greater insight and intensity exegetical developments in the schools of Paris and northern France as well as within the new Cistercian order, it has become more, not less, important to move outside these prominent intellectual venues in order to evaluate more fully claims to innovation and to assess, rather than assume, the movement and reception of new ideas and approaches from these cultural centres into the wider world. How were innovations in the interpretation of the Bible received in the Norman 'periphery'? Likewise, what were the contributions, if any, of this 'periphery' to the developments associated with these better-known centres? Exploring the uncharted expanses of Norman monastic exegesis therefore promises, at the very least, to cast new light on a well-known and important medieval cultural and political zone. Yet it also promises to provide new insights into and a critical perspective on the development of the better-known centres of biblical studies and scholasticism in Paris and northern France.

[3] Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, p. 93.

[4] Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, pp. 45–98; on the interconnections of clerical and monastic spheres, see David Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 105–32. For the wide reach of one particular monastery, see the thought-provoking study of Sally N. Vaughn, 'Anselm, Lanfranc, and the School of Bec: The Search for the Students of Bec', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. by M. A. Meyer (London: Hambledon, 1993), pp. 155–82, esp. Appendix 1 (pp. 176–79). There are no better witnesses to the complex web of interactions between monasteries in the Anglo-Norman world than the pages of Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* or the correspondence of Anselm of Bec.

But where to start this exploration, given the state of the evidence? This essay proposes that an excellent place to begin to map the terrain of Norman biblical studies, especially in the generation after Anselm, is with the career and works of Richard of Fourneaux,[5] Abbot of Saint-Pierre de Préaux from 1101 to 1130/31.[6] Trained by the leading intellects of Normandy, including Anselm of Bec, and esteemed by contemporaries for both his piety and learning, Richard became a committed and prolific interpreter of the sacred page; his surviving corpus includes continuous commentaries (as opposed to glosses) on all five books of the Pentateuch, the book of Ruth, and the Solomonic books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs.[7] Furthermore, the prefaces and prologues of these works expose an extended network of students, friends, and potential patrons and critics extending from Anglo-Norman England to Burgundy.[8] At the same

[5] On Richard's life and works, the central studies remain 'Richard, abbé de Préaux', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 2nd edn (Paris: Librairie de Victor Palmé, 1869), XI, 169–76; Guibert Michel, 'Richard de Préaux', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), XIII, cols 570–72; J. Leclercq, 'Écrits monastiques sur la Bible aux XI^e–XIII^e', *Mediaeval Studies*, 15 (1953), 95–106 (p. 96); and most fully in D. N. Bell, 'The "Lost" Commentary on the Song of Songs of Richard of Préaux', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 48 (1981), 109–27, who provides a complete transcription of Richard's preface and a partial transcription of his prologue to his Song of Songs Commentary (pp. 116–17). Richard has received passing mention, usually as an example of typical 'Benedictine' exegesis, in B. Smalley, 'Some Thirteenth-Century Commentaries on the Sapiential Books', *Dominican Studies*, 2 (1949), 318–55 (pp. 318–20); reprinted in Smalley, *Medieval Exegesis of Wisdom Literature: Essays by Beryl Smalley*, ed. by Roland E. Murphy (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1986), pp. 1–38 (pp. 1–3, citing the commentary on Ecclesiastes); J. Leclercq, 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture: From St Gregory the Great to Bernard', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), II, 183–97 (p. 190); and most recently, Philippe Buc, *L'Ambiguïté du Livre: Prince, Pouvoir, et Peuple dans les Commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Age*, Théologie historique, 95 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994), pp. 72, n. 8; 77, n. 18; and 212, n. 15.

[6] On the Abbots of Saint-Pierre de Préaux and Richard's tenure in that office, see Jacques Henry, 'Les Abbayes de Préaux', in *La Normandie au Temps de Guillaume le Conquérant (XI^e siècle)* (Lille: Facultés Catholiques de Lille, 1967), pp. 191–227 (pp. 192–217). Basing themselves on Orderic Vitalis's statement that Richard ruled as abbot for 'fere xxiiii annos' from the death of Geoffrey (1101) and assuming that Orderic knew precisely when Abbot Geoffrey of Préaux died, some scholars have concluded that Richard died in 1125. Orderic's familiarity with Geoffrey's brief abbacy, and thus the precision of his dating of Richard's death, cannot be taken for granted.

[7] I am currently at work on a critical edition of Richard's *opera omnia exegetica*.

[8] For editions of the surviving prefaces and prologues of Richard's exegetical works, see Appendices I–VII at the conclusion of this essay. His prefatory letter to his commentary on the

time, Richard's often personal reflections in these prefatory materials and scattered throughout his works allow unusually candid insights into Richard's attitudes towards the process of interpreting *sacra Scriptura* and himself as an exegete. Finally, because he chose to write continuous commentaries rather than glosses, his works offer an unusually full view of the range of approaches and authorities that Richard and his contemporaries thought it necessary to employ when interpreting the Bible for their contemporaries as well as insight into the manifold meanings that they found hidden within the *litterae* of the sacred text.

The intent of the pages that follow, therefore, is, first, to offer a fuller, and somewhat revised, understanding of Richard's career as abbot and activity as an exegete than has hitherto been available and one based on a more extensive body of evidence from Richard's own writings. Second, it seeks to use Richard's own reflections to understand better Richard's attitudes towards the Bible and biblical exegesis as well as his conception of his role as a public interpreter of sacred scripture. Third and finally, it offers new evidence for Anselm's success as an exemplar of the prelate as contemplative and exegete.

A Life Revised: Richard of Préaux as Student, Abbot, and Exegete

Our principal evidence for Richard's early monastic career and training in exegesis derives from a single extended passage in Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* noteworthy for both its level of detail and its warm appreciation of Richard and his exegetical abilities. After briefly discussing the house's first abbot, the holy Ansfrid, Orderic moved quickly to the abbot who had ruled in his own time: Richard of Fourneaux.[9] He noted first that Richard had begun his monastic career at the monastery of Saint-Vigor outside Bayeux (founded 1064/66) under the tutelage of its abbot, the former monk/hermit of Mont-Saint-Michel and commentator on the Song of Songs, Robert of Tombelaine.[10]

Song of Songs has been published in Bell, '"Lost" Commentary', p. 116, while the surviving manuscript of his commentary on Exodus lacks the folios containing the beginning of that work.

[9] For much of the narrative that follows, see OV IV (1973), 304–06.

[10] On Robert as abbot and exegete, see OV IV, 116–17; see also Paul Quivy and Joseph Thiron, 'Robert de Tombelaine et son commentaire sur le "Cantique des Cantiques"', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint Michel*, vol. II: *Vie montoise et rayonnement intellectuel*, ed. by R. Foreville (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1967), pp. 347–56. Robert's commentary on the Song of Songs (which was long attributed to Gregory the Great) is printed in *PL* 150, cols 1361–70, and

From a later remark by Orderic that Richard had 'run singing psalms on the path of God following the footsteps of the ancient fathers from the time of his adolescence',[11] it may be further inferred that he took up the monastic life in his teens or early twenties. Given that the community of Saint-Vigor had already disbanded and its abbot departed into exile in Italy in 1082 following the fall from grace of its founder, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, the beginning of Richard's monastic vocation must be dated to the 1070s. Moreover, the fact that, according to Orderic, Richard was already *eruditissimus* in divine letters by 1082 suggests that he had already spent a number of years under Robert's tutelage.[12]

With the dissolution of his original monastic community, Richard sought out the outstanding teachers of his world — Gerbert of Saint-Wandrille, Gontard of Jumièges, and Anselm of Bec — and others, living in their company (*contubernium*) and hanging upon the words of their nourishing teachings. Although the details and chronology of this intellectual quest cannot, at present, be known with any certainty, it seems most likely that Richard moved, if not immediately then within several years, from the community of Saint-Vigor to that of Bec, the leading centre of Norman intellectual life about which Orderic would later remark 'by good custom the monks of Bec are so devoted to the study of letters, so eager to solve theological problems and compose edifying treatises, that almost all of them seem to be philosophers'.[13] The fact that Richard knew Anselm while

PL 79, cols 493–548. It is interesting to note that the surviving prefatory epistle on Robert's commentary is addressed to Ansfrid of Préaux who had long expressed an interest in Robert's reading of that most mystical of books. Thus, having become abbot, Richard may well have encountered his teacher's words on the Song of Songs once again in the library of Préaux. Bell, '"Lost" Commentary', does not compare Richard's interpretation with that of his master.

[11] 'In uia Dei per antiquorum uestigia patrum psallens ab adolescentia cucurrit': OV IV, 306–07. Adolescence is described by Isidore of Seville as lasting from age fourteen to twenty-eight, *Etymologiae*, II.2 (ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911)).

[12] 'Ricardus itaque unus ex illis diuinis in litteris eruditissimus fuit, et in tanta deuastatione teneri gregis religiosos sophistas quesiuit, in quorum contubernio dogmatibus almis inherens reuerenter habitauit' ('Richard, who was one of their number, was deeply learned in sacred studies, and when the young community was broken up he sought out men of piety and learning and settled in their company, reverently studying holy doctrine'): OV IV, 306–07.

[13] 'Ex bono usu in tantum Beccenses coenobitae studiis litterarum sunt dediti, et in questione seu prolatione sacrorum enigmatum utiliumue sermonum insistunt seduli, ut paene omnes uideantur philosophi': OV II (1968), 296–97; this passage is discussed by Vaughn, 'Anselm, Lanfranc, and the School of Bec', p. 170, though in this context it is the prowess of Bec's monks in religious/theological discussion that I would emphasize.

abbot and was also on excellent terms with Anselm's successor, William of Beaumont (1093–1124),[14] further suggests that he arrived at Bec in the 1080s and remained there until his promotion to the abbacy of Préaux. Indeed, his very election to the abbacy of Saint-Pierre of Préaux may owe something to formal or informal ties between the monasteries and the fact that Abbot William of Bec was the brother of Count Roger de Beaumont, patron of Saint-Pierre, who became a monk in Abbot Richard's monastery as an old man.[15] In the absence of additional evidence, however, this part of Richard's *curriculum vitae* must remain speculation.

If it is not possible to know his precise whereabouts or activities between 1082 and 1101, it is clear that it was during this time that Richard fully matured as a biblical commentator. In the preface to his *Explanatio in Leuiticum*, for example, he remarked to Anselm jokingly that if beggars might well expect to receive scraps from a lord's table after knocking and begging at the gate for a few years, all the more should he receive some scraps of divine insight, since he had been knocking on the door of holy Wisdom for twenty-five years![16] Roughly three years later, in another prefatory letter to Anselm preceding the first part of the commentary on Genesis that Anselm had expressly enjoined upon him, he reflected again on his long-standing relationship with scripture, noting that it had been 'now almost twenty-eight years since I locked myself entirely away in the lovely intimacy and intimate love of the law of Moses'.[17]

Yet, although his love affair with the law of Moses was of long standing and his fascination with the mysteries of Mosaic law seemingly limitless, most, and perhaps all, of his commentaries on the books of the Pentateuch that were the progeny of this *amor contubernalis* seem instead to have arisen in a concentrated period of study and writing that followed upon Richard's election to the abbacy

[14] Boso, *The Life of the Venerable William, Third Abbot of Bec*, trans. by Sally N. Vaughn in *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034–1136* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981), pp. 117–26 (p. 124), where Boso reports that Richard of Préaux came to see William on his deathbed and stayed until the end, a gesture typical of friends (though, to be sure, their friendship need not have arisen at Bec during the 1090s but as fellow abbots).

[15] OV IV, 302–03.

[16] 'Profiteor me iacuisse ante portam summę sapientię uiginti et quinque annos' ('I profess that I have lain before the door of the highest wisdom for twenty-five years'): Appendix II, below.

[17] 'In cuius [mosaicę legis] siquidem amabili contubernio et contubernali amore ferme iam sunt transacti uiginti et octo anni, totum me retrusi': Appendix I. A, below.

of Préaux. In Orderic's brief but well-informed account, Richard's election as abbot constitutes a kind of watershed in his career, dividing Richard the student from Richard the teacher. He writes:

> When Abbot Geoffrey died, Richard was elected abbot of Préaux; he ruled the abbey for about twenty-four years in the time of Duke Robert and King Henry and died there. He [. . .] broke the enigmatical bread [of scripture] for the hungry children in the house of the Lord with a blessing, distributing it gladly and bountifully to all who held out their hands, compelling those who were either indifferent or reluctant to eat. He dedicated a Commentary on Genesis to Maurice, learned abbot of Saint-Laumer of Blois, and another to a learned priest, Athelelm, who was a monk of Fly but in his old age followed the monastic way of life with the monks of Holy Trinity, Fécamp. He composed a remarkable commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon for Pontius, the renowned abbot of Cluny, wrote clear expositions of Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and Deuteronomy for other reverend persons, and in many treatises discussed the difficult passages of the prophets allegorically or figuratively.[18]

Furthermore, we learn in his commentary on Genesis written for Anselm that he only approached the first book of the Pentateuch after completing commentaries on the other four.[19] Thus, the years between 1101, Richard's election to the abbacy of Préaux, and 1109, the date of Anselm's death, likely saw the composition of the entire Pentateuch commentary. As we have seen, the commentary on Leviticus was completed nearly three years before Richard completed the first instalment of his interpretation of Genesis. In his prefatory remarks to two of the

[18] 'Defuncto autem Goisfredo abbate Ricardus ad regimen Pratellensis abbatiae electus est, quod Roberti ducis et Henrici regis tempore fere xxiiii annis tenuit ibique defunctus est. Hic [. . .] famelicisque pueris enigmaticum panem in domo Dei benigniter fregit, manumque tendentibus alacriter et ubertim distribuit, torpentibus quoque et recusantibus ut manderent uim intulit. Commentarium super Genesim Mauricio sancti Launomari Blesensium eruditissimo abbati edidit, et aliud domno Adelelmo eruditissimo presbitero conscripsit, Flauiacensi quidem monacho qui cum Fiscannensibus sanctae Trinitati reuerenter militans consenuit. Egregio Cluniancensium abbati Poncio eximiam explanationem super Parabolas Salomonis contexuit, aliisque uenerabilibus personis Aecclesiasten et Cantica Canticorum ac Deuteronomium luculenter exposuit, multosque tractatus super obscura prophetarum problemata allegorice seu tropologice disseruit': OV IV, 306–07,

[19] 'Librum Geneseos iam enucleatis a me mysteriis quattuor qui restant, tua iussione aggressurus' ('now that I have explained the mysteries of the other four [books], I approach at your command the book of Genesis'): Appendix I. A, below. It is an attitude that contrasts sharply with that of Guibert of Nogent, another student of Anselm, who undertook a moral commentary on the Hexameron as his first foray into biblical interpretation; on this commentary, see now Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 38–60.

commentaries prepared at the instigation of Adelelmus of Fly, Richard's former student — namely, Numbers and Deuteronomy — he offers further specific evidence as to the relative chronology of the works. Further hints on the chronology of his exegetical activity — for example, his remark in book I of the second part of his Genesis commentary that he had already offered a *multiplex intelligentia* of Song of Songs 1. 1 *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, thus dating the commentary on the Song of Songs to a period prior to Genesis Part II[20] — undoubtedly await discovery in the many as yet unedited folios of his works.

He began his prologue to his commentary on certain chapters of Deuteronomy by noting, helpfully, to his former student:

> Once my *Explanation on the Book of Ruth the Moabite* was completed, I wanted to put down in writing some passages in the book of Deuteronomy which are, in my view, difficult to understand, even though a large portion of the book is contained in the book of Leviticus, upon which I had just recently completed a full commentary (to the extent that the Lord Jesus deigned to assist me).[21]

After sending the commentary on Leviticus to Anselm for comment and criticism, therefore, Richard turned to the book of Ruth and composed his commentary on this brief book. His treatment of Ruth completed and sent off to Adelelmus, who had requested it in the first place,[22] Richard returned to the Pentateuch and prepared a more selective commentary on certain problematic passages in Deuteronomy. His use of the adverbs 'iam' and 'nuper' to characterize the time between his work on Leviticus and his interpretation of Deuteronomy suggests that these projects were undertaken in quick succession.

As he concluded his remarks on Deuteronomy, he began to conceive a similar work on certain difficulties in the book of Numbers and promised Adelelmus that he would prepare a commentary on them; indeed, it was only this promise, Richard claimed at the outset of his commentary on Numbers, that persuaded him, amidst the travails of the abbatial office and in the face of the ever-present snapping of vicious critics, to undertake the project. As in the commentary on

[20] *Explanatio in Librum Geneseos, Pars Secunda*, Cambridge, Trinity College MS 93 (B. III. 14), Book I, fol. 8va: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui.* De cuius mysterio intelligentiam protuli multiplicem, cum librum illum exponerem.

[21] 'Explanatione consummata in librum Ruth Moabitistis, nonnulla stilo assignare uolui quę sunt difficilia intellectu sicut reor in libro Deuteronomii, licet pleramque partem huius contineat liber Leuitici super quem nuper plenariam expositionem prout dominus iesus sumministrare dignatus est, iam ediderim': Appendix IV, below.

[22] Appendix V, below.

Deuteronomy, however, Richard suggested that he would limit his labours to those parts that he had not already interpreted elsewhere, noting that he would pass over those elements of Numbers which he had already explained in either his commentary on Exodus or Leviticus.[23] Given this remark and his earlier comments about his long-standing interest in the law of Moses, it seems reasonable to conclude that he began his exegetical work on the Pentateuch with a commentary on that most Mosaic of biblical books, Exodus.[24]

Richard thus appears to have commented on the books of Moses in a somewhat idiosyncratic order: beginning with Exodus, he moved on to Leviticus, then jumped to Deuteronomy (after interpreting Ruth), and after returning to the book of Numbers, concluded with his massive commentary on Genesis undertaken at the 'command' (*iussio*) of Archbishop Anselm.[25] In just under three

[23] As it appears in Appendix III, below: 'Explanaturus autem nonnulla capitula libri Numeri et illa prętermittens quę in Exodo uel Leuitico iam exposuerim' ('I will now comment on certain chapters from the book of Numbers, passing over those points which I have explained in Exodus and Leviticus').

[24] Although Richard's commentary on Exodus survives in one manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1194), this manuscript lacks prefatory material that might indicate the circumstances of its composition. Further study of the commentary as a whole will, it is hoped, reveal details that will help to confirm or reject the above hypothesis.

[25] Whether he completed the second part of the commentary before Anselm's death is uncertain. On the one hand, Orderic Vitalis reports (OV IV, 306–07) that he dedicated a Commentary on Genesis to Maurice, Abbot of Saint-Laumer-en-Blois, a comment that scholars have generally taken to mean that Anselm had died between the first and second parts. On the other hand, Anselm remains a presence in the concluding text of the second part of Richard's Genesis commentary, where Richard writes: 'Tandem littore nauiculam meam uelo demisso et in pręsentiarum anchora iactanda recipiente, gratias ago domino meo iesu christo, amore sapientię cuius mellifluo tractus et eiusdem instinctu perseuerans in hoc quod coeperam, licet multis tribulationibus circumactus, opus istud quod uir dei, Anselmus uidelicet cantuariensis ęcclesię archiepiscopus, imposuerat michi triginta libros continens consummo. In hoc autem opere quicquid utilitatis et honestatis reperitur, de tuo est domine iesu christe. Item quicquid in eodem insipidum atque futile posuerim, meę quidem insipientię censeo ascribendum, implorans te, uir dei, ut suppleas quę decreueris supplenda, et ea corrigas quę corrigenda sunt' ('At last, with the sail put away and anchor cast, my ship now having reached shore, I give thanks to my Lord Jesus Christ, drawn by the sweet love of his wisdom and continuing on at his instigation in this project I had begun, although encircled by many tribulations, I am completing this work, now containing thirty books, which the man of God, Anselm, Archbishop of the church of Canterbury, had set for me to do. In this work, whatever appears useful and worthy, it is yours, Lord Jesus Christ. And whatever I have put in it which is unlearned or untrustworthy, I judge it attributable to my own lack of wisdom, asking you, man of God,

years, therefore, Richard seems to have produced lengthy commentaries, even if not absolutely complete ones, on four books of the Bible, an impressive achievement for an abbot who lamented being constantly embroiled in legal battles, threatened by civil war, and otherwise forced to devote himself to the pastoral cares of this world.[26]

Where, then, do Richard's commentaries on the Solomonic books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs fit in this chronology? Opinions have varied. Some, attending to Richard's self-characterization as *habitu monachus* and *frater quidam*, have wanted to see the commentaries on Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs as productions of the period before Richard's abbacy.[27] The extant version of his commentary on Proverbs, however, must date from the period after 1109, the year of Pontius of Cluny's accession to the abbacy, leaving a gap of almost a decade between the parts of what seems clearly to have been imagined as a unified project.[28] Given Richard's approach to the books of Moses, such a

that you will add what you deem should be added, and that you will correct what needs correction'): *Explanatio in Librum Geneseos, Pars Secunda*, fol. 176. The combination of the third-person reference to Anselm as the *uir Dei* and the second-person invocation of Anselm (or another *uir Dei*?) as the commentary's *corrector* leaves the question of whether Anselm had died ambiguous. Further ambiguity is added by the historiated 'I' which depicts a tonsured man with crosier (but without a mitre) and a halo. Is this Anselm? Was the halo added or part of the original design?

What can be said with certainty is that the script and annotations of the surviving manuscript of this second half associate it with Christ Church, Canterbury, indicating that a copy was sent to Anselm's see at some point. Thus, while Anselm's knowledge of part II (and indeed, part I) of Richard's commentary must remain a matter of some uncertainty at present, we need not be overly troubled by the contradiction between Richard's dedication and Orderic's report. Orderic probably compiled Richard's bio-bibliography on the basis of what he knew, and he knew that Richard had sent a Genesis commentary to his former student Maurice, who was Abbot of Saint-Laumer-en-Blois from 1107 on. He did not know that Richard also, and principally, composed the commentary at Anselm's behest. Finally, it is worth noting that Richard's commentary provides the first evidence that Anselm actually encouraged specific exegetical projects.

[26] Appendices III–V, below.

[27] Thus, Smalley, 'Some Thirteenth-Century Commentaries', p. 1; followed, more tentatively, by Bell, '"Lost" Commentary', pp. 115–16. François Avril, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits bénédictins normands du XI^e^ et du XII^e^ siècle', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, 77 (1965), 209–47 (pp. 229–31), offers compelling arguments against such an assumption.

[28] Each of the three commentaries has a prologue or initial discussion which explains the relationship of the three books to one another and to Solomon's own pedagogical plan. It is

temporally fragmented approach to the works of another great biblical *auctor* seems improbable but, as his reference in the second part of his Genesis commentary to a commentary on the Song of Songs demonstrates, he clearly was working on the Solomonic books while writing his commentary on the books of the Pentateuch.

While the order and full chronology of the three Solomonic commentaries cannot be determined given the current state of our knowledge, the evidence indicates that Richard began his work on the Solomonic books with, significantly, the monastic classic, the Song of Songs.[29] The commentary on Ecclesiastes sent to Abbot Arnulf of Troarn must have been completed by 1112, the year of Arnulf's death, but Richard's treatment of Proverbs need only have been completed by the early 1120s, with the terminus ante quem for his work on Proverbs established by the end of Pontius's active rule over Cluny in 1122.[30]

In addition to these exegetical projects that do survive, Orderic also remarked admiringly, as noted above, that Richard composed 'many treatises' (as opposed to commentaries) in an allegorical or tropological mode on difficult conundra in the prophets.[31] Two surviving texts that address, respectively, a seeming contradiction between Augustine and Ambrose on the nature of angels and the repentance and damnation of Solomon for idolatry confirm this interest in resolving specific scriptural problems, while at the same time attesting to Richard's recognized expertise in works of the Latin Fathers.[32]

clear from these remarks and others that Richard considered the three texts to be products of a single mind and intention and therefore, of necessity, elements of a single exegetical project rather than as independent biblical commentaries.

[29] This choice might signify that the commentary was undertaken while still a monk, as Bell suggested. It might also be part of an effort on Richard's part to recreate the *contemplatio* of being a monk, amidst the demands of a pastoral position.

[30] On Pontius, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Two Studies in Cluniac History, 1049–1126', in *Studi Gregoriani*, vol. XI (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano 1978), pp. 179–298. Richard's commentary on Proverbs, dedicated to Pontius, is mentioned on p. 191 as evidence of Pontius's reputation for learning.

[31] For this passage, see above, note 18. The article in the *Histoire littéraire* records a number of other attributions (for example, commentaries on Joshua, Judges, the Wisdom of Solomon, and a number of other books of the Old and New Testaments). A commentary in seven books on Joshua attributed to Richard was present in the library of Préaux as late as the eighteenth century; see Bernard Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols (Paris: Briasson, 1739), II, 1267.

[32] These texts are found, respectively, at the end of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 724, and at the conclusion of all three manuscripts of Richard's commentary on Ecclesiastes; see

Before turning to Richard's attitudes towards sacred scripture and his role as an exegete, it is worthwhile to pause briefly to sketch what is known of his activities as the head of the community of Saint-Pierre de Préaux. As noted above, Richard referred on many occasions in his commentaries to the trials which he had to confront as Abbot and which compelled him to abandon his quiet communion with scripture for the tumult of the exterior world. For example, in his commentaries on both Ruth and Deuteronomy, he referred explicitly to the violence that threatened the community because of civil war and the hardened hearts of perverse men[33] and the seemingly endless legal cases, the *negotia forensium*,[34] in which he was called upon as Abbot to participate. It is to be hoped that current work on the cartulary of the monastery will allow a fuller understanding of the nature of these struggles as well as the nature of Richard's administration.[35] Yet we do receive some sense of the tenor of Richard's abbacy from an undated letter of Ivo of Chartres to Count Robert of Meulan which, although hitherto overlooked in discussions of Richard, nonetheless casts a revealing light on Richard's conception of his role as Saint-Pierre's abbot. There Ivo complemented

Appendix VII for the shelfmarks. I am currently preparing a study of this text entitled 'Saving Solomon: The Debate on the Solomon's Salvation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries'.

[33] As it appears in Appendix IV, below: 'gladiis peruersorum hominum metuam circumdari' ('I fear to be besieged by the swords of wicked men'); and again, in his commentary on Ruth in the preface to Book III: 'Positus, fili karissime, inter cunctos hostiles, attonitus aures crebro sonitu lituorum, conscisius [*sic*] signum belli imminentis protestantium, item assultus falsorum christianorum et rapinam bonorum nostrorum tolerans, tuo desiderio parens, librum ruth tenui et impolito stilo uel sermone molitus sum explanare' ('Placed as I am, dearest brother, among so many enemies, astonished by the frequent sounds of trumpets, recognizing those giving the sign of imminent battle, bearing with the attacks of false Christians and the plunder of our property, obeying your desire, I have set my feeble and unpolished pen or style to work in an attempt to explain the book of Ruth'); and the preface to Book IV (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 135 (B. IV. 21), fol. 154^{v} and fol. 164^{v}): 'Mitigata paulisper sęuicia ciuilis discordię ob reuerentiam quadragesimalis parsimonię, demum cuspidem stili mei oppido retunsam crebra allisione belligerantium lapidea corda habentium exacuere molior' ('Now that the fierceness of civil discord has calmed somewhat due to reverence for Lenten fasting, I am once more setting out to sharpen the point of my pen, made dull by the frequent clashes before the town of warriors who have hearts of stone').

[34] Appendix VI, below; cf. Appendix III, below, where Richard comments similarly on *forensium rerum*.

[35] Dominique Rouet of the Bibliothèque municipale du Havre is currently at work on the manuscript of the cartulary; see her 'Le cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Préaux: présentation du manuscrit', *Tabularia*, 1 (2001), 1–11.

Robert on his honourable treatment of Abbot Richard and his support of the Abbot in his *negotia*, urging him to continue along this most fitting course of action. He then tried to explain what must have been Richard's quite energetic and persistent pursuit of the monastery's rights and properties, remarking:

> That [Abbot Richard] works so hard in recalling the possessions of the monastery committed to him, he does, compelled by the debt of his profession. For this is demanded of each abbot when they are about to receive their blessing from the bishop: that he promises that he will reassemble the properties of his monastery that have hitherto been badly dispersed and faithfully put them to the use of the brethren and the poor.[36]

Far from being the passive victim of legal assaults, Richard emerges from Ivo's letter as a prelate aggressively attempting to regain the lost resources of his institution, an effort that doubtless gained him few friends among the local nobility. He also seems to fit the profile of the administratively savvy and legally attuned monks-turned-prelates trained at Bec that have been highlighted by Sally Vaughn.[37] At the same time, Ivo seems to have been at pains to frame Richard's vigorous prosecution of Saint-Pierre's interests not as ambition or pious individual initiative but as a manifestation of obedience and an action coerced by oath and the canons of the Church (which Ivo quoted for Robert's benefit). Having become abbot, in other words, Richard assumed responsibility not only for the souls of the monastery's brethren and dependents but for the soul of the material institution, its property.

Exegesis Between Contemplation and Action

As he reflected on the contrast between his former life as a hermit devoted to divine contemplation and his present life full of the cares and distractions of monastic leadership, John, abbot of the reformed Norman monastic community of Fécamp and a contemporary and probable acquaintance of Richard's first teacher, Robert of Tombelaine, had lamented:

> O chaste and clean solitude, seat of peace and repose rejoicing in God's company, so long sought and finally found! Who has stolen you away from me, my beloved? Once

[36] 'Quod enim in revocandis monasterii sibi commissi possessionibus elaborat, professionis suae debito coactus facit, quia ab unoquoque abbate, quando benedictionem accepturus est ab episcopo, hoc exigitur, quatenus profiteatur res monasterii sui hactenus male dispersas se recollecturum et ad usus fratrum pauperumque fideliter dispensaturum': Ivo of Chartres, *Ep.* 143, in *PL* 162, cols 149C–150A (col. 149D).

[37] Vaughn, 'Anselm, Lanfranc, and the School of Bec', pp. 155–75.

> my arms embraced you fully, and happy, I lingered with my mind inclined upon your most pure kiss. I delighted constantly in your good aspects and set the sweetness of your love before all other joys. Who has cast me, a wretch, from your embraces? O how far have I been transported from your holy company, my friend![38]

Richard would have sympathized. Elected to abbatial office after twenty or more years of cloistered life devoted to divine reading and meditation, Richard turned similarly to the language of romantic love to describe the loss necessitated by his pastoral role. He achieved his most vivid portrayal of the life of untroubled *lectio divina* as his true-love lost in his preface to his commentary on Deuteronomy, where he invoked in a strikingly vivid way the Gospel story of Mary and Martha (Luke 10. 38–42) — with its well-established associations with the contemplative and active lives[39] — to portray the tension he felt between his true love, the peaceful contemplation of God's Word, and his present life filled with endless strife and worry. Explaining to his student Adelelmus why it had taken him so long to fulfil his promise to comment upon Deuteronomy, Richard thus noted with frustration:

> I am barely able to endure the insolence of that woman Martha who is so restless that she sometimes snatches the pen from my hand before it can even be dipped in the inkhorn. And if I am ever slow to follow her footsteps, she immediately glares at me and leads me like a servant where I would not go if I could avoid it.[40]

Like the biblical Martha who complained to Jesus at the idleness of Mary, Richard's Martha was an outspoken and demanding (and not a little annoying)

[38] 'O casta et munda solitudo, sedes pacis et repausationis, gaudens familiari Deo, diu exquisita tandemque inuenta! Quis te mihi abstulit, dilectam meam? Te quidem olim totis bracchiis amplexatus sum, laetusque prono animo inhaesi tuo purissimo osculo. Delectabar in bonis tuis iugiter et suauitatem amoris tui omnibus gaudiis praeferebam. Quis me miserum auulsit a complexibus tuis? Heu quam procul a tuo consortio sancto remotus sum amica mea!': *Deploratio quietis et solitudinis derelictae*, edited in J. Leclercq and J.-P. Bonnes, *Un Maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle: Jean de Fécamp*, Études de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité, 9 (Paris: Libraire Philosophique J. Vrin, 1946), p. 185. On Jean de Fécamp, see Leclercq's and Bonnes's introduction to their editions, pp. 13–106.

[39] See the illuminating and exhaustive survey in G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1–142. Richard of Préaux is not among those authors discussed.

[40] 'Pręterea importunitatem Marthę mulieris admodum sollicitę uix ualeo tolerare quin interdum de manu mea calamum rapit, antequam cornu possit intingui. Quod si aliquotiens tardauero resculpere uestigium illius, statim intuens me seueris oculis ducit me tanquam seruum quo nollem si posset fieri': Appendix IV, below.

presence in his life, jealous of his attentions to her sister and willing to interrupt his converse with her at the slightest provocation. Yet, bothersome though she was, Richard acknowledged that Martha was good, for she was deeply serious about the exercise of the Lord's commandments and the observance of His prohibitions. Mary was nonetheless better, for not only was she better tempered (*hilarior*) and more agreeable (*gratior*), she offered 'a port of tranquillity' and 'relief to all those badly afflicted with worldly affairs'.[41] It was to her constant companionship that Adelelmus had dedicated himself, Richard observed enviously. By becoming Abbot, he, in contrast, had set himself the seemingly impossible task of serving both women and, as a consequence, was constantly shuttling back and forth between the demands of the active life and the attractions of the contemplative, all too often uncertain about which one he ought to pursue first.[42]

Even when he did find time to hold converse with Martha's contemplative sister, Richard lamented that he found himself in such encounters 'covered in the dust of worldly cares' and unable to focus his mind fully on the beauty before him. 'Where before I was accustomed to enjoy a tranquillity of mind and the clarity [offered by] constant reading, now I am compelled to endure in my innermost heart a raucous crowd of thoughts and the dust of my stay in the world.'[43] He found, in other words, that the concerns of his active life of leadership had begun to penetrate the innermost reaches of his mind, never allowing him to leave them entirely behind; they weakened his contemplative energies and smudged the clear lens through which his mind's eye had once gazed on the heavenly mysteries. So frustrating to Richard was this loss of his former life at one point that he exclaimed, in words more befitting a courtier, 'For me who now am compelled to dwell amidst the whirlwinds of the world, it would have been easier had I never experienced her embrace'.[44]

[41] 'Tranquillitatis portum [. . .] omnibus negociis secularibus uehementer afflictis refrigerium': Appendix IV, below.

[42] 'Quocirca quid primum quidue secundum incipere debeam, persepe anceps subsistor' ('Thus I often stand still, of two minds what I ought to take up first and what second'): Appendix IV, below.

[43] 'Quoniam ubi prius tranquillitatem animi et claritatem assiduę lectionis solitus fueram intueri, ibi procul dubio in intimo cordis mei tumultuantem cogitationum turbam et puluerem mundanę commorationis compellor perpeti': Appendix III, below. Richard voiced a similar complaint at the outset of his commentary on Proverbs, Appendix VI, below.

[44] 'Leuius namque michi esset si amplexus illius nunquam expertus fuissem, qui modo inter turbines mundi residere compellor': Appendix IV, below.

All was not lost, however. For although Richard frequently described the deleterious effects of his pastoral office on his contemplative abilities, he spoke with equal conviction about the redemptive power of the sacred text and the act of interpreting it to refresh his soul and cleanse his mind's eye. Thus he affirmed that 'amidst the stresses and the great disorder of mind, this consolation remains for me as I waver and am pulled this way and that by importunate cares: that I may return to the streams of sacred scripture by which the filth may be cleansed from my feet and that in gazing upon them my troubled mind may be quieted, made calm, and become itself again'.[45] Elsewhere he portrayed the study of sacred reading, 'studium sacrę lectionis', as a kind of hermitage of the mind, protecting him, if only temporarily, from the crash of worldly affairs[46] and reversing the assumed relationship between physical retreat and the contemplation of the divine word.[47] Exegesis, rather than being the product of contemplative solitude, became its creator. How then to integrate *lectio divina*, a signal feature of the contemplative life, into the hustle and bustle of the *vita activa* and thereby reconcile Mary with Martha, love with duty?

The answer for Richard at least lay in conceptualizing anew one of the central features of the contemplative life, *lectio divina* and *meditatio*, as a central means of fulfilling at once the monastic virtue of obedience and the prelatial imperative of pastoral care. To accomplish this, Richard had to decide to shift the nature of his exegetical activity from sacred reading undertaken privately and silently for the sake of his own spiritual progress to a more public interpretation of sacred scripture intended as a means of collective spiritual progress and Christian edification. It was a shift embodied in his decision to put pen to parchment.

Yet authorship was not an end in itself but rather a means by which Richard was able to serve others through action while restoring his own spirit and intellect through contemplation. Thus Richard explicitly affirmed that he wrote not because he wished to be an author or receive the fame or rewards that authorship might bring, but because, in humility, he had to obey the commands of those

[45] 'Inter angores et tantam turbelam animi id consolationis mihi uacillanti et importunis curis plurimum distincto restat quod regredior ad fluenta sacrę scripturę per quam sordes pedum meorum diluuntur, item cuius intuitu mens commota tranquillatur, serenatur, et ad semetipsam reuertitur': Appendix III, below.

[46] Appendix I. B, below.

[47] This association is seen, for example, in Richard's first abbot, Robert of Tombelaine, who wrote his commentary on the Song of Songs while in a *cella solitaria*; *In cantica canticorum*, *PL* 150, col. 1363B,C.

who demanded his help in understanding the sacred text, whether it be his student Adelelmus, his master Anselm, or monastic *parvuli* seeking understanding.[48] Before helping them understand, however, Richard himself was obliged to meditate upon scripture and the works of the Fathers. Through the act of composing scriptural commentaries, in other words, *lectio divina* became a necessary element of his active life, a pious *labor* just like the reassemblage of Préaux's property, that demanded that he translate his own private *lectio divina* into a literary form capable of serving the wider Christian public, whether that public be within the walls of Saint-Pierre de Préaux, all of Normandy, or all of Christendom.[49]

Richard thus found in the act of composing his commentaries a means to unite the two Christian loves. For while the study and interpretation of scripture joined the exegete to God through his desire to know God better, the sharing of these insights with others through teaching and writing joined the exegete to his neighbour in a tangible expression of Christian charity. Thus, after describing to Arnulf of Troarn his difficulties in undertaking his commentary on Ecclesiastes, he explained his eventual success by recalling that 'love (*caritas*) [. . .] seized the pen' and forced it into his hand.[50] Similarly he wrote his commentary on Ruth for Adelelmus, 'trusting in obedience and bound by the shackles of love'.[51] By allowing him to integrate the monastic virtues of obedience and humility with the prelate's moral imperative to love both God and neighbour, exegesis had, in essence, enabled Richard, if not ultimately to reconcile, then at least to combine productively a passionate love of the contemplative life with his pastoral and political activities as an abbot and leader of Normandy.[52]

Yet, although it was desired and applauded by many, Richard's assumption of the role of a public writer upon the mysteries of scripture rather than just a

[48] See, for example, Appendix I. A, below: 'librum Geneseos [. . .] tua iussione aggressurus' ('I approach at your command [. . .] the book of Genesis'); Appendix IV, below: 'mitto manum meam securus ad scribendum tuę postulationi parens' ('securely I put my hand to writing, obeying your command').

[49] That he did imagine his commentaries circulating among wider audiences is implied by his decision to send his commentary on Proverbs to Pontius of Cluny and made explicit in his remark to Anselm that, once the Archbishop of Canterbury had made his corrections and emendations to the commentary on Leviticus, 'auribus plurimorum tutius diuulgetur' ('it will be safer to disseminate to the ears of the multitudes'); Appendix II, below.

[50] 'Caritas [. . .] calamum arripiens': Appendix VII, below.

[51] 'Oboedientia fretus, tum uinculis caritatis deuinctus': Appendix V, below.

[52] It is worth recalling here that Richard's active career as a biblical commentator seems to begin after his assumption of the abbatial office, as noted above.

devoted, and private, reader was not welcomed by all — or at least he often feared that it was not. He spoke often of his detractors, of their *dens liuidus atque corrosius*, the *lingua uirosa*, and the piercing *sibulus* from the *os loquentium iniqua*.[53] Richard's repeated references to swarms of critics and jealous malefactors waiting to hurl their darts at his works and character have led scholars to conclude that he was a monk of *mauvaise humeur* who wore his pride too much on his sleeve and, disliking criticism intensely, took far too personally the sparring of wits that characterizes any 'republic of letters'.[54] Yet such a reading of Richard's anxieties pays too little attention to the extent to which, for Richard and his monastic contemporaries, the literary economy of textual production and the moral economy of virtue and vice were still inextricably interwoven. To write at all was, implicitly, to make a strong, and often controversial, public claim about one's moral, institutional, and intellectual authority and status; all the more so did those who dared comment on the Word of God risk charges of vainglory, pride, and blasphemy, to say nothing of heresy if one's opinions went astray.[55]

We must understand Richard's fears, therefore, not so much as manifestations of a kind of authorial paranoia but rather as the healthy sensibilities of someone who knew that, in picking up his *calamus exegeticus*, he had entered a very dangerous and complicated moral terrain, full of pitfalls and booby traps, with its boundary lines carefully guarded by vigilant and often unsympathetic watchmen. To have one's writings welcomed in such a country, it was imperative for an author to communicate not just the literary intentions behind his works but the active presence of the proper moral and intellectual disposition as well. In regularly highlighting the humility and obedience that not only guided but even enabled his interpretive effort,[56] Richard signalled to his fellow monks that he was an *auctor* worthy of the name.

[53] In the preface to his commentary on Leviticus, Richard offered some particularly pungent adjectives in describing his detractors; see Appendix II, below.

[54] 'Richard, abbé de Préaux', p. 172; Bell, '"Lost" Commentary', p. 116.

[55] For two famous examples of violations of such unspoken norms of literary propriety: Peter Abelard is warned by classmates not to interpret scripture too hastily but to remember his lack of experience and take time to develop and test his reading of the text, in Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, *PL* 178, cols 113–82 (col. 125A), also in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. by Betty Radice, rev. edn by M. T. Clanchy (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 8; and Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies* 1, 17, published as *Autobiographie*, ed. by Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Les Belle Lettres, 1981), pp. 142–44, where the abbot orders Guibert to cease his exegetical work on the Hexameron, presumably because of his age and inexperience.

[56] In Appendix VI, below, Richard prays for a *spiritum humilitatis*.

In addition to the detractors and critics motivated merely by human emotions like pique or jealousy, Richard also was concerned about the reactions of a second, more important group of readers: those who would actually read his commentaries but would be disappointed, if not actively hostile, to them because they lacked the rhetorical polish, concise argumentation, and intellectual sophistication that they had come to demand or expect. Here again, however, it is important to recognize that Richard did not worry about criticism of his ideas per se, for such criticism, insofar as it led closer to sacred truth, he welcomed and indeed sought out.[57] Thus, he invited recipients of his commentaries known for their wisdom or prudence, such as Arnulf of Troarn and Anselm of Bec, to exercise their editorial powers without restraint, adding what should be there, refining what was already there, and deleting what should be omitted, even if it meant the entire work.[58] Rather his concern was about those who would criticize or dismiss either his commentaries because of their extreme length and digressiveness or himself as a commentator because of his lack of *scientia* or eloquence. In both cases, Richard argued that such detractors, while perhaps justified in a limited sense, had fundamentally misunderstood the purpose for which the commentaries were produced and likewise misperceived the true author, and hence true value, of the exegesis itself.

Richard was not an exegete of few words, and he knew it. His commentaries were long, often running to a hundred or more folios, and he frequently divided them up into many smaller books so as to help the reader avoid *taedium*, that deadly combination of fatigue and boredom that ran the risk of not only repelling the reader from Richard's interpretation but from *sacra lectio* itself.[59] Moreover, he knew that he lived in the age where brevity and focused argument were valued, virtues that found formal expression in the development of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and in the application of brief interpretive or explanatory glosses to biblical books.[60] Lanfranc of Bec's commentaries on the letters of Paul, for

[57] At the end of his prologue to Deuteronomy, Appendix IV below, he expressed his approval of 'constructive criticism' to Adelelmus by noting (paraphrasing Proverbs 27. 6) that the wounds inflicted by friends are more useful than the soft kisses of enemies.

[58] Appendix VII, below. He writes similarly to Anselm in Appendix II, below.

[59] His commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Ruth, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs all are divided into smaller books the length of which hovers around twelve folios.

[60] Beryl Smalley, 'La *Glossa ordinaria*: Quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 9 (1937), 365–400, and her 'Les Commentaires Bibliques de l'Époque Romane: Glose Ordinaire et Gloses Périmées', *Cahiers de civilisation*

example, were as succinct in their form as they were penetrating in their elucidation of the logic of Paul's thought.[61] Abelard, too, valued brevity, going so far as to question why any additional explication was needed beyond the biblical text itself and the works of the Fathers.[62]

Yet, unlike these leading intellectual lights of the age, Richard's audience of Norman monks seems to have delighted in or at least demanded commentaries that set forth a superabundance of biblical *testimonia* in support of each interpretive move the exegete made. At times, Richard saw this constant demand for more biblical evidence as a direct comment on his own authority as an exegete. Thus, on one occasion he admitted: 'I am not a man of such great wisdom, nor of so holy a religious way of life, nor of such great authority that anyone of a competitive nature would easily believe me, unless he saw that the commentaries which I have tried to forge on the books of the Pentateuch were secured by fitting witnesses'.[63] Yet in addition to authorities added to allay the doubts of sceptics, Richard also felt compelled to add proof texts from the prophetic books of the Bible, especially those that could be given a moral interpretation, simply because his readers enjoyed them. Thus he recalled at the outset of the second part of his Genesis commentary that his audience 'asked that I frequently use texts from the prophetic books that I thought well suited or that addressed the moral sense'.[64] Interestingly, Richard's early master, Robert of Tombelaine, had experienced an almost identical predilection among his readers for interpretations encased, like knights, in an exegetical mail of biblical and patristic *testimonia* as well.[65] The problem posed for Richard by the need to invoke so many

médiévale, 4 (1961), 15–22; repr. in *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning* (London: Hambledon, 1981), no. III.

[61] On Lanfranc's commentaries, see the studies of M. Gibson, 'Lanfranc's "Commentary on the Pauline Epistles"', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 22 (1971), 86–112; and 'Lanfranc's Notes on Patristic Texts', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s., 22 (1971), 435–50.

[62] Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, col. 124A,B (*Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, pp. 7–8).

[63] 'Non enim sum tantę sapientię, neque tantę religionis, neque tantę auctoritatis, ut michi quispiam emulus facile credat, nisi testibus idoneis commentarios quos super pentateucum cudere molior, uiderit esse tutatos': Appendix I. B, below.

[64] 'Postulauerunt ut frequenter testimoniis propheticarum lectionum uterer, quę moralitati congrua atque respondentia dinoscerem': Appendix I. B, below. Richard's contemporary Guibert of Nogent emphasized the value of the tropological or moral sense of scripture in his short treatise on *How to Give a Proper Sermon* that served as the preface to his commentary on Genesis. On Guibert's attitude towards moral exegesis, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 26–31.

[65] Robert of Tombelaine, *In cantica canticorum*, *PL* 150, col. 1363B,C.

authorities, however, was that the meaning of the authorities themselves was not always transparent, especially to his simpler readers. Richard therefore felt himself implicitly and explicitly compelled not simply to comment on the principal biblical text but also to comment on the proof texts that he had invoked to explain the initial biblical text.[66] Thus, it was both the exegetical 'taste' of his Anglo-Norman readers for abundant exegetical evidence as well as the essential incapacity of most of Richard's readers to grasp on their own the full meaning of the evidence presented that had condemned his exegesis to assume the form of bulky tomes. The form of his commentaries, he insisted, had indeed followed their function.

Of course, it was not simply the demands and limitations of his readers that caused his commentaries to assume their massive proportions. It was also his profound conviction that the text of the Bible could be, when properly interpreted, a source of endless truths about every aspect of mankind's existence in this world and the next. Thus he remarked with wonder that 'the sacrifices which the book of Leviticus commends are replete with so many mysteries that there is scarcely a single syllable that is without an allegorical meaning'.[67] At the same time, the words of sacred scripture rarely gave up their meaning easily; indeed, even the texts of such seemingly straightforward books as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were, in fact, wrapped in *magnis obscuritatibus*.[68] Before such hermeneutic challenges Richard professed himself to be almost wholly at a loss, being neither intellectually acute by nature, nor learned by training, nor spiritually accomplished. Yet, precisely because he was devoid of any powers or pretensions as a biblical commentator and, in fact, had only humility and obedience to commend him to God, Richard suggested — not a little paradoxically — that he had become the ideal interpreter of God's word. For so profound were the mysteries, so many were the meanings lying hidden behind each word and phrase of the biblical text that mere human *scientia* and *ingenium*, the possession of the school masters, were ultimately insufficient to discover them all, let alone plumb their depths. To do so required, in fact, the spirits of the texts' original *auctores* — Moses, Solomon, and, ultimately, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit — to take possession of the exegete and guide his eye and his pen. Thus, at the outset of his exposition

[66] Appendix I. B, below, the passage beginning, 'Nec tamen multimodis auctoritatibus'. See also Appendix II, below, the passage beginning 'Testimonia uero scripturarum'.

[67] 'Uictimę quas liber leuiticus commendat tantis mysteriis redundant, ut etiam uix una syllaba sine typico sensu in eodem reperiatur': Appendix II, below.

[68] Appendix VII, below.

of Leviticus he declared that 'no one is capable of penetrating the secrets of these offerings, except for the man enriched with the septiform gift of the Holy Spirit, by whose finger the Law itself is known to have been written'.[69] Likewise, as he embarked upon his explanation of the book of Numbers, he informed his reader: 'However great may be the difficulty found in the mysteries of the Numbers of the sacred Law, I declare that [this book] is clear only to that man who has breathed in the spirit of Moses.'[70] Richard hoped that he was such a man, and not just because a successful claim to divine inspiration for his works would help to shield him from criticism as well as enhancing the authority of his views.[71] Rather it was because the act of writing exegesis never became a merely academic exercise but remained rooted in the contemplative life, in moments with Mary, in a living conversation with the Spirit. When such converse was unobtainable, inspiration was impossible and the exegetical effort had to fail. Such moments of crisis and frustration were not unknown to Richard. Indeed, at one point in the commentary on Genesis dedicated to Anselm he cried out poignantly on parchment:

> How much the smallness of my native wit needs the gift of heavenly grace, the present text, which is far beyond the reach of our powers, shall demonstrate clearly enough [. . .] Truly it does not belong to a single individual both to involve himself in the cares of worldly business and to be able to extract the kernel of meaning from the words of the Lord which He breathed into his servant Moses by the grace of the Holy Spirit.[72]

Even as he performed his exegetical *labor* and therein was able to taste the sweetness of sacred contemplation that he had once known, Richard had doubts about whether the reconciliation of the two lives, the two loves, that he had found in his role as a public interpreter of scripture could in the end hold. What allayed

[69] 'Nemo archana earundem penetrare preualeat, nisi spiritus sancti, cuius digito lex ipsa scripta esse dinoscitur, septiformi munere ditatus': Appendix II, below.

[70] 'Quanta sit autem difficultas in mysteriis numerorum sacrę legis, illi solummodo manifestum esse reor qui est afflatus spiritus Moysi': Appendix III, below.

[71] In this way, Richard's situation strongly resonates with the cases discussed in Robert Lerner's thought-provoking article, 'Ecstatic Dissent', *Speculum*, 67 (1992), 33–57, especially that of Rupert of Deutz (pp. 34–39). In Richard's case, however, it is not so much innovation that needs to be justified and defended as the intellectually assertive act of interpretation itself.

[72] 'Quantum pusillitas ingenii nostri munere gratię celestis indigeat, satis quidem lectio presens ostentat, [. . .] Non enim est unius hominis et sollicitudinibus secularium negotiorum insistere et sermones domini quos seruo suo moysi gratia sancti spiritus referto inspirauit enucleare posse': *Explanatio in librum Geneseos, Pars Prima*, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 62, fol. 25.

such doubts and reaffirmed that it truly was possible to lead successfully a double life as both contemplative and abbot was the living ideal of the contemplative prelate embodied in his former master and mentor and present Muse, Anselm of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury.[73]

Imitating Anselm

In a famous passage in Book I of his *Monodies*, Guibert of Nogent recalled the beginnings of his own relationship with sacred scripture and the important role that Anselm, then Prior of Bec, played in encouraging his nascent exegetical imagination. In discussions of this text, scholars have devoted particular attention to Guibert's claim that he learned from Anselm the way 'to treat the operations of the entire inner mystery under the headings of appetite, will, reason, and intellect' and then sought to use these categories in interpreting scripture, most particularly Genesis.[74] What has perhaps not received the attention it deserves, however, is that this specific lesson about human psychology clearly must have emerged in the course of a much broader set of lessons and conversations about exegesis and theology. For only if we imagine such a backdrop can we make sense of Guibert's claim that it was Anselm, in particular, who fostered his growing interest in three allegorical senses of scripture.[75] Guibert, in other words, provides clear, though tantalizingly vague, evidence of Anselm's activity as a promoter of biblical as well as theological study.

[73] On this ideal of Christian leadership, see in particular Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*, ed. by B. Judic, Sources Chrétiennes, 381–82 (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1992), esp. Books I and II; and Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 179–212.

[74] 'Sub affectu, sub voluntate, sub ratione, sub intellectu commercia totius interni mysterii tractare': Guibert, *Monodies* I, 17, p. 140. The translations of Guibert's *Monodies* are taken from *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. by Paul J. Archambault (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1996), p. 62. On this passage and the development and application of Guibert's psychology to both scripture and himself, see Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 38–82.

[75] A similar conclusion was drawn by R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 382–83; in discussing the evidence for the influence of the Bible upon Anselm's thought earlier in the book (pp. 69–71), Southern makes no reference to Guibert's experience of Anselm's enthusiasm for exegesis.

Yet, in addition to encouraging Guibert to pursue his newly kindled passion for scripture, it is clear that Anselm also showed Guibert a way to live. Sparing in his allocation of praise and quick to note hypocrisy and shallow virtue in others, the very brevity and directness of Guibert's characterization of Anselm is a testament to the spiritual impact Anselm's life and teaching had on him: 'His teachings were incomparable, his life perfectly holy.'[76]

Hitherto ignored by scholars, Richard of Préaux's memories of Anselm (expressed, it should be noted, to Anselm himself) strikingly confirm and deepen Guibert's glowing, if laconic, portrait of Anselm as both the contemplative ascetic par excellence and a lucid teacher of *sapientia divina*. Thus, as he opened the commentary on Leviticus that he sent to Anselm in the hope of his comments, Richard warmly proclaimed:

> Truly I have no doubt that the gifts of the Holy Spirit flourish in you, most loving and [. . .] venerable father, because, though placed amidst the cares of ecclesiastical affairs, you vigilantly devote your energy to the careful investigation of wisdom not only during the hours of each day but also during the secret hours of nights, and because you are able to set forth what you think about the law of the Lord in clear language, indeed with ready eloquence; and finally because you calm a mob of ignorant students with the wall of your patience in an amazing way and remain unmoved even when struck by their insolent assaults.[77]

Remembered as an active prelate deeply involved in the affairs of the Church and, hence, dedicated to the service of Martha, Anselm seemed to Richard to have nonetheless maintained successfully his commitment to contemplation and his converse with Mary. In part, Richard noted, Anselm had managed his double life by pursuing his study of *sapientia* not just during the daytime hours but into the dark hours of night, transforming the *requies* of sleep for the body into the *requies* of study for the mind and soul. Yet, what struck Richard even more strongly was the way in which, when morning came, the contemplative and the

[76] 'Virum incomparabilem documentis et vita sanctissimum': Guibert, *Monodies* 1, 17, p. 138 (*A Monk's Confession*, p. 62).

[77] 'Quoniam quidem in te diuersa dona sancti spiritus non ambigo uigere, amantissime et inter [. . .] uenerande, tum quia licet positus inter sollicitudines rerum ęcclesiasticarum, non solum cottidianis, uerum etiam furtiuis horis noctium operam sapientię perscrutandę uigilanter impendis, tum quia quę sentis in lege domini luculento sermone suppeditante quidem facundia potis es proferre; item quia turbam imperitorum atque discolarum mirabiliter muro tuę patientie compescis, et eorum perculsus importunis assultibus immobilis permanes': Appendix II, below.

active Anselms converged in Anselm the teacher, the *amator et cultor ueritatis*,[78] who harvested and distributed the crops of ideas and spiritual insights nourished in solitary meditation, even as he exercised the virtues of Christian leadership over his ignorant and unruly congregation of students. Anselm, in short, had demonstrated to Richard that there was a way for the contemplative-turned-prelate to harmonize, indeed integrate, the love that he had for God with the love he should have for his fellow Christians: the active and public teaching of *sapientia*. And it was precisely such an ideal of teaching and learning that Richard attempted to embody in himself and to make incarnate in the folios of his scriptural commentaries.

In approaching the intellectual culture of Norman monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is easy to assimilate the *lectio divina* that constituted an integral part of every monk's daily routine with the much rarer and qualitatively distinct activity of composing biblical commentaries. Yet Richard's extensive and quite candid remarks on his role as biblical commentator and the form and function of his commentaries suggest that such assimilation is fundamentally misleading: reading is not the same kind of activity as writing, perhaps especially for monks. Furthermore, Richard's case suggests that in disregarding the massive significance of the decision to write in the moral economy of monastic life, we have missed the deeper, almost institutional, significance of religious writing in Norman monasticism at the dawn of the twelfth century: it was an essential attribute of the perfected Christian leader, the prelate capable of leading not only bodies but souls. Like Bec's 'prudent pilots and spiritual charioteers' who dedicated their one hand to useful religious writing even as the other grasped the reins of the churches,[79] Richard of Préaux, too, strove through his commentaries to be such a prelate and thereby to become, if only in some small way, an *amator et cultor ueritatis* or, in other words, an *alter Anselmus*.

[78] Appendix I. A, below.

[79] 'Prouidi nautae ac spirituales aurigae': OV II, 296–97.

Appendix I. A

Richard of Préaux, Explanatio in librum Geneseos

The following edition is based on the sole extant manuscript: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 62, fol. 9[r] (Christ Church, Canterbury, *s.* XII[in.]) (=T), collated against the version published as *Ep.* 102, *PL* 159, col. 251A,D (=P), which claims to be based on a manuscript from Préaux, now lost.

Incipit prologus in Primam Partem Explanationis Libri Geneseos.

Anselmo[a] Cantuariensis ecclesię archiepiscopo, quidam dominicę crucis seruus et minister pratellini coenobii, cursu infatigabili stadium paternę peregrinationis tanquam militi summi regis feliciter consummare.

Quamuis, pater uenerande et inter membra christi tanquam amator et cultor ueritatis plurimum diligende, crebras simultates et impugnationes hominum facinosorum, item aculeos malignorum spirituum intrinsecus plerumque sustineam, tamen onus obedientię quam imponis michi leuissimum actu quidem et sincera deuotione qua te diligo, prorsus estimo. Quippe nichil difficile reperitur, quod cuilibet igne amoris exestuanti facile non uideatur. Igitur librum Geneseos iam enucleatis a me mysteriis quattuor qui restant, tua iussione aggressurus et dextera domini mei iesu christi calamum meum regente explanaturus, admodum tuis orationibus indigeo, ut *is qui claudit et nemo aperit aperit et nemo claudit*,[1] michi librum signatum aperiat. Cuius hystoriam quam beatus Augustinus iuxta literam[b] usque ad exitum primi parentis de paradyso[c] multifariam prosecutus est, intactam dimitto.[2] Etenim arrogantię deputari posset intolerabili, si manum meam superponere presumarem eiusdem manui. At ubi uero uentum fuerit ad locum ubi senaria distribucione formę uisibilium rerum consummantur, temptabo prout diuina sapientia mihi affuerit, literam[d] huius libri secundum triplicem intellectum aliquando tractare. Cęterum dominus inopiam meę scientię nouit, cui non ficte loquitur testimonium meę conscientię uel intentionis, quia nec pręsumo uiribus meis, nec ad plausum mortalium, nec ad fructum transitorię remunerationis operam impendo ad explanandum perplexa mysteria mosaicę legis. In cuius siquidem amabili contubernio et contubernali amore ferme iam

[a] Ansemo *corr. a.*

[b] literam T] litteram P.

[c] paradyso T] paradiso P.

[d] literam T] litteram P.

sunt transacti uiginti et octo anni, totum me retrusi. In cuius nimirum mandatis prosequendis dum desudo, ualde requiesco. Cumque ab illius amplexibus importunitate negotiorum mundanorum preualente frequenter auellor, non modicum laborem incurro. Ne hoc quidem mirum, quia apud illam panis uitę et intellectus atque potus inueniantur. Panis per quem amissę uires mentis imbecillę in uigorem pristinum reparantur. Intelectus per quem res quam ratio disponit, an forte vacillet, diligenter consideratur. Potus per quem sitis mundanarum concupiscentiarum extinguitur, et postmodum suauissimo feruore ad rimanda illius secreta, uehementer is qui inde potat accenditur. Iam demum gratia dei precedente ad uerba libri ueniamus, et uirtute obedientię suppeditante, quid gerant mysterii, prout dominus nobis dederit, diligenter uestigare satagamus. EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

[1] Apocalypse 3. 7.

[2] Richard refers here to Augustine's *De Genesis ad litteram imperfectus liber* which offered a commentary on Genesis 1. 1–28.

Appendix I. B

Richard of Préaux, Explanatio in librum Geneseos*, Part II*

The following edition is based upon Cambridge, Trinity College MS 93 (B. III. 14), fol. 1 (Christ Church, Canterbury, *s.* XII), the only known manuscript of this commentary.

INCIPIT SECUNDA PARS EXPLANATIONIS IN LIBRUM GENESEOS.

Quęso lectorem inprimis ne sit oneri sibi quod nonnunquam necto moras in explanando difficilia testimonia scripturarum, quibus ea quę assigno stilo, munire consueuerim. Non enim sum tantę sapientię, neque tantę religionis, neque tantę auctoritatis, ut michi quispiam emulus facile credat, nisi testibus idoneis commentarios quos super pentateucum cudere molior, uiderit esse tutatos. Nec tamen multimodis auctoritatibus plurimum explanatione indigentibus operam in exponendo impendissem, nisi supplicatio quorundam fratrum me ad hoc agendum compulisset. Pręter ea postulauerunt ut frequenter testimoniis propheticarum lectionum uterer, quę moralitati congrua atque respondentia dinoscerem. Et quoniam magis in iugo oboedientię quam in abundantia sapientię meę confido, postponens sibilos quorundam hominum, morem atque modum explanationis inchoatę tanquam filius oboeditionis prosequar. Etenim *si hominibus placerem, christi seruus non essem*.[1] Certe si multis non prosunt illa quę exaratione stili memorię trado, michi tamen uehementer prodesse non ambigo. Quoniam studium sacrę lectionis a strepitu secularium negotiorum remotum me facit, et uirtus oboedientię cui pareo, multa mihi quę prius ignoraueram, sine difficultate inueniendi diuersos intellectus pandere consueuit. Quid enim alicui prodest arcam inspicere et clauem non habere, per quam uisurus ea quę intus reponuntur, ualeat illam reserare? Iam tempus est ut textum hystorię ponamus, et cor nostrum et linguam et manus, ei cuius sunt uerba nonnisi suo spiritu disserenda, minimi seruorum suorum serui humiliter committamus.

[1] Galatians 1. 10.

Appendix II

Richard of Préaux, Explanatio in Leuiticum

The following edition is based on Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 514 (0864)[1] (*s.* XII), fols 1–2 (= A), which is the only known extant manuscript containing the work. The prologue was published by E. Martène and U. Durand, *Ueterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 9 vols (Paris: Montalant, 1724), I, 575; repr. in *PL* 166, 1357A–1360C (= M).

INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN LIBRO LEUITICI EDITUS A QUODAM DOMINICĘ CRUCIS SERUO.

Unus ex accolis domus filiorum Israel Anselmo Cantuariensis ecclesię archiepiscopo, hostiam uiuam, sanctam, rationabilem offerre summo pontifici.

Quoniam quidem in te diuersa dona sancti spiritus non ambigo uigere, amantissime et inter membra christi plurimum uenerande, tum quia licet[a] positus inter sollicitudines rerum ęcclesiasticarum, non solum cottidianis,[b] uerum etiam furtiuis horis noctium operam sapientię perscrutandę uigilanter impendis, tum quia quę sentis in lege domini luculento sermone suppeditante quidem facundia potis es proferre; item quia turbam imperitorum atque discolarum mirabiliter muro tuę patientie compescis, et eorum perculsus[c] importunis assultibus immobilis permanes. Quia ergo tantam prerogatiuam uirtutum insitam tibi considero, explanationem in librum Leuiticum experientię tuę committere decreui. Ne id quidem uolo ut aliquis arbitretur me in tuis laudibus efferendis declamasse, et tuum caput oleo peccatoris oblinisse, quo te tutorem ac defensorem mearum ineptiarum uti quibusdam uidetur, citius quam alio lucro asciscerem. Quod si uerbis meis non credunt, uel operibus credant. Porro si uerus es amator sapientię diuinę, nescies parcere cuiquam quem comperis dilaceratorem illius esse. Quę quidem[d] res tanto mihi fit odibilis, quanto magis desudo delectabiles amplexus eiusdem experiri. Ceterum uehementer reuerens os loquentium iniqua, qui potius dispendia uitę dormitando certatim unusquisque amplectuntur, quam circa mysteria sacrarum scripturarum explananda compendium

[a] licet A] *om*. M.

[b] cottidianis A] quotidianis M.

[c] perculsus A] *om*. M.

[d] quidem A] quidam M.

gratissimi laboris prosequi moliantur, quęso uos, domine mi, ut istud opus animo uigilanti transcurratis, et totum quod sanum intellectum offendit cultro catholicę fidei amputetis, et sic ubi minus fuerit quam decet, prout uobis placuerit, quęso iterum suppleatis, ut postmodum sibulus quorundam reprimatur et dens liuidus atque corrosorius retundatur, et uestra auctoritate diligenti quoque examinatione liber iste commendatus, auribus plurimorum tutius diuulgetur. Quod si quando quilibet me presumptorem et opus uires ingenii mei transcendens aggredientem ęstimauerit, unum quidem prorsus abnegans diluo, alterum uero mihi inesse profiteor. Quia ergo[e] uicium presumptionis me incidisse quam plures autumnant, dum textum Leuitici conatus sum explanare, et stilo scatenti prolixum opus assignare, tandem fatiscat uirosa lingua et potius tela super incudem liuoris fabricata retorqueat in quendam archipresulem et in multitudinem personarum religiosarum, quas munus gratię diuinę filiis supernę ierusalem preesse uoluit. Illorum namque preceptis parui, stilo currenti atque comentatorio totum opus in decem et septem libros consummaui. Testimonia uero scripturarum quibus ea quę dictando scribebam, cingere frequenter procurauerim, more quidem meo prout simplex turba fidelium flagitabat, tanquam uerba libri exponere studui. Itaque dexteram meam committens dexterę excelsi[2], qui *suscitat de terra inopem et de stercore eleuat pauperem*,[3] quod ipse mihi sumministrauit, totum quidem diutinum laborem prona mente suscipiens, poscentibus libens porrexi. Nouerint trutinatores alienorum operum quia dominus per infirma uasa suis filiis pleraque bona nonnumquam ministrare soleat, maxime cum quispiam pauper et amator sapientie foribus illius incubat, et pectore gemibundo crebris quoque suspiriis, item riuulo lacrimarum[f] interdum subsequente aures eiusdem pulsat. Quis, quęso mortalium adeo tenax uolaticarum rerum posset tolerare importunitatem cuiuslibet indigentis, et ante portam illius alimoniam crebro clamore postulantis biennio seu triennio, quin uel micas a mensa decidentes transmitteret? Profiteor me iacuisse ante portam summę sapientię uiginti et quinque annos, nocte ac die quibus poteram desideriis implorans, ut me sitientem *in cellam uinariam*[4] intromitteret, et uino incomparabilis laeticię[g] meam inopiam releuaret. Et quoniam frequenter sicut ueritas protestatur dicens: *Pulsate et aperietur uobis*,[5] mihi quoque suum hostium[h] diuina clementia

[e] ergo A] uero M.

[f] lacrimarum A] lacrymarum M.

[g] laeticię A] laetitiae M.

[h] hostium A] ostium M.

pulsanti reserauit, et pro meo affectu plurima propinauit, quę aliis propinare procuraui. Omnis qui indiget sapientia, *postulet a deo et dabitur illi*.[6] Certe nonnunquam uiderim pauperem ceteris in postulando stipem corporis necessariam paulisper importuniorem, et ideo persepe ui clamoris continuę[i] id quod desiderabat obtinuisse, et idipsum quod extorserat collegis suis torpescentibus distribuisse. Hunc utique[j] ritum imitando perhibeor esse importunus domino meo iesu christo, qui si non dat mihi eo quod amicus eius sum, surget tamen propter improbitatem et dabit mihi panes quotquot habeo necessarios.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. ITEM PROEMIUM.

Benignus ac misericors deus ubi genus humanum naturalem legem transgrediens eo usque tramite ueritatis aberrauerat ut opus manuum suarum prona ceruice adoraret, inolita bonitate uolens illud ad cultum sacrę religionis reuocare, dedit legem illis stilo assignatam per manum Moysi. Cuius uero cultores iudei in peculiarem amorem delecti longo tempore extitere. In ea sane ritus hostiarum typum nostrę redemptionis pręsignantium continentur. Quorum pars una ad nostrum caput, alter uero ad eiusdem membra concinna ratione refertur. Etenim legis lator precipit immolari hostiam domino de bobus, de ouibus, de capris, de turture uel columba; item de simila. Horum nempe natura, si diligenter discussa fuerit, maxime filio dei inter mortales degenti congruam formam disciplinę prędemonstrare perhibetur. Quę res domino uiuante suo loco cum eo uentum fuerit declarabitur. Ceterę rursus uictimę quas liber leuiticus commendat tantis mysteriis redundant, ut etiam uix una syllaba sine typico sensu in eodem reperiatur. Unde fit, ut tanta profunditas atque difficultas in illis oblationibus quę legis latoris decreto sanciuntur, per omnia lateat, ut nemo archana earundem penetrare preualeat, nisi spiritus sancti, cuius digito lex ipsa scripta esse dinoscitur, septiformi munere ditatus. Quocirca uires animi mei considerans ac inopiam ingenii mei ęquę rationis trutina perpendens, profiteor me in scribendo eo usque progressurum, quo me quidem traxerit eiusdem spiritus adminiculum. Aio enim: *Trahe me post te, curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum*.[7] Nouerit siquidem ipse qui *renes et corda* mortalium rimatur,[8] me nequaquam penes me reperire ubi scripturus quicquam utilitatis intinguere calamum potis sum, nisi prius imperitię meę consuluerit et id totum quod prolaturus sum suggesserit. Ipso igitur prędeunte meam quo dexteram regente opus propositum aggrediamur.
EXPLICIT PROEMIUM.

[i] continuę A] continue M.

[j] utique A] itaque M.

[1] The manuscript reference given for this commentary (Arras, Bibl. mun., MS 864) in the article on Richard de Préaux in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (XIII, col. 571) is misleading; the correct shelfmark, which may be found in F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1955), V, 88–89, is that given above. My thanks to Mdm. Nathalie Picque and the Section Latine of the I. R. H. T. for their invaluable assistance in identifying the correct shelfmark of the manuscript.

[2] Psalm 76. 11.

[3] I Kings 2. 8; cf. Psalm 112. 7–8.

[4] Song of Songs 2. 4.

[5] Matthew 7. 7; Luke 11. 9.

[6] James 1. 5.

[7] Song of Songs 1. 3.

[8] Cf. Psalm 7. 10.

Appendix III

Richard of Préaux, Expositio super librum Numeri

The following edition is based upon Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 135 (B. IV. 21), fols 5–5^{v} (Christ Church, Canterbury, *s.* XII^{ex}–XIII^{in}), the only known manuscript of this commentary.

Incipit in libro Numeri prologus Ricardi abbatis de pratellensi.
Post instantem sollicitudinem curę pastoralis, post strepitualem dispensationem forensium rerum, post importunissimam altercationem rusticanę multitudinis ferme rationis carentis, uix dum ego reuisens penetralia meę mentis et dispendium uitę meę perpendens nec uspiam exitum aliquem inde reperiens: ualde, fili Adelelme, conqueror atque contristor.[1] Quoniam ubi prius tranquillitatem animi et claritatem assiduę lectionis solitus fueram intueri, ibi procul dubio in intimo cordis mei tumultuantem cogitationum turbam et puluerem mundanę commorationis compellor perpeti. Nouit enim ille qui *renes et corda* cunctorum rimatur,[2] quia sustinere mallem austeritatem prelati quam uirgam pastoralis regiminis, uel aliud potius placiturum suę uoluntati quod constaret esse uilissimum obtutibus humanis, nisi forte conscientia mea fallat me, quę nunquam aut uix solet fallere. Uerumtamen inter angores et tantam turbelam animi id consolationis mihi uacillanti et importunis curis plurimum distincto restat quod regredior ad fluenta sacrę scripturę per quam sordes pedum meorum diluuntur, item cuius intuitu mens commota tranquillatur, serenatur, et ad semetipsam reuertitur. Tunc acie mentis pauxillulum sedata euidenter intuetur, quia quanto fit in dispensandarum rerum uisibilium sollicitudine angustior, tanto siquidem in rimando profunda mysteria sacrę legis subsistit latior. Quocirca non est cuiquam mirandum, si quando circa tractatus ueteris testamenti *spiritus* meus deficiat, qui uadens et non rediens[3] in his quę foris sunt agenda preter modum sese dilatat. Et tamen meipsum michimet pręripiens, adhuc conabor aliquid tibi scribere, ne fiam reus sponsionis meę quam in fine explanationis Deuteronomii recolo me fecisse, paruipendens linguas inuidentium atque corrodentium, qui plus in uescendo humanis quam suillis carnibus solent delectari. Non enim sum tantę peritię, tantę grauitatis, ut quis super iis quę exposuerim uel expositurus sim stimulis inuidentię debeat exagitari, quoniam ex comparatione rei melioris altera solet deprimi, quod quidem ab existimatione mea longe remoui. Quis enim mortalium comparatus michi non pręemineat, cum michi conscientia nullatenus se extenuans realiter respondeat me nichil habere, nisi quod mihi sumministrat pater totius clementię? Explanaturus autem nonnulla capitula libri Numeri et illa

prętermittens quę in Exodo uel Leuitico iam exposuerim, opitulationem illius qui fecit *omnia in numero et mensura et pondere*,[4] tanquam magnus peccator cernua mente deprecor: ut michi ostium sapientię suę pulsanti aperiat[5] et *in cellam uinariam* me sitibundum introducat;[6] quatinus copia sui uini defecati debriatus ualeam declinare foueam erroris et pandere uiam ueritatis. Ipse uero nouit quia non qualitate bonorum operum sed sola uoluntate bona confisus, opus uires ingenii mei excedens aggredior. Quippe archam mei cordis uacuam esse non ambigo, sed ab illo non diffiteor esse cumulandam qui dicit, *Amen dico uobis, quia si petieritis patrem in nomine meo, dabit uobis.*[7] Certe multum piger esse probatur, qui nota insipientię deprimitur, eo quod petere non uult. Quanta sit autem difficultas in mysteriis numerorum sacrę legis, illi solummodo manifestum esse reor qui est afflatus spiritus Moysi. Tandem ad libri textum transeamus, implorantes dominum deum ut manum suam manui meę superponat et id quod inchoatura est iuxta suam uoluntatem, ad finem perducat.

Explicit prologus. Incipit commentarium in libro Numeri editum a quodam dominicę crucis seruo.

[1] It is almost certain that this Adelelmus to whom Richard sends this commentary is to be identified with the 'learned priest' and monk of Saint-Germer de Fly named Adelelmus, who eventually retired to Fécamp; OV IV, 306.

[2] Jeremiah 11. 20; cf. Psalm 7. 10, 25. 2.

[3] Psalm 77. 39.

[4] Wisdom of Solomon 11. 21.

[5] Cf. Matthew 7. 7–8; Luke 13. 25.

[6] Cf. Song of Songs 2. 4.

[7] John 16. 23.

Appendix IV

Richard of Préaux, Commentarium in quibusdam capitulis Deuteronomii

The following edition is based on a collation of the two known manuscripts of this commentary, with the earlier witness, BN f. latin 13201, used for the base text.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 13201, fols 65–66 (*s.* XII).

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 715, fols 37^{v}–38 (Bury St Edmunds, *s.* XIII^{in}).

INCIPIT PREFATIO IN LIBRUM DEUTERONOMII.

Quemadmodum ille *qui aspicit uentos non seminat et qui considerat nubes numquam metit*,[1] stulticię uel, quod est grauius, insipientię et paupertatis arguitur, ita plane omnis homo properans ad brauium celestis patrię capessendum, uacuus coram summo iudice apparebit, si quando pręter mensuram causę rationabilis, impugnationes hostis antiqui formidans, semen diuini[a] uerbi sulcis agri dominici commendare distulerit, et si linguam corrodentium impulsu malignorum spirituum circumcirca sibilum uirulentę et[b] detractorię locutionis insufflantem timuerit. Cęterum ille quem antiquus serpens fallere non potest, nec sibi laus humani fauoris arridet, oportuno quidem tempore semen suum iacit et fertilitatem segetum suarum agricolę suo respondentium metit, et in horreo ubi *fur nec appropriat nec tinea demolitur*,[2] rendere satagit. Ego autem paruipendens omnia quę michi a diabolo et membris illius intorqueri possunt, mitto manum meam securus ad scribendum tuę postulationi parens, quamuis in pręsentiarum[c] finito ieiunio quadragesimę gladiis peruersorum hominum metuam circumdari, nisi pietas filii dei locum cui pręsideo pręmunierit. Pręterea importunitatem Marthę mulieris[3] admodum sollicitę uix ualeo tolerare quin interdum de manu mea calamum rapit, antequam cornu possit intingui. Quod si aliquotiens tardauero resculpere uestigium illius, statim intuens me seueris oculis ducit me tanquam seruum quo nollem si posset fieri. Uerumtamen[d] quia non sum meus, eo quod conditionem seruitutis iam semel professus sum, modo opus Marthę laboriosum

[a] ni *add. supra a.* P.

[b] et *add. supra a.* P.

[c] r *add. supra a.* P.

[d] Verumtamen P] Verumptamen B.

prosequor, modo quietem Marię puluere mundanarum sollicitudinum conspersus aggredior. Quocirca quid primum quidue secundum incipere debeam, persepe anceps subsistor. Quippe bona quidem martha sed melior maria. Martha namque uehementer grauis in prosecutione mandatorum suorum nec minus importuna in prohibitione ipsorum. Maria uero tranquillitatis portum inhabitans, et omnibus negociis secularibus uehementer afflictis refrigerium prȩstans, his omnibus qui diligunt requiem hilarior et gratior esse uidetur. Hanc nimirum, fili karissime, ut michi uidetur elegisti tibi. Cuius colloquium *super mel et fauum* dulce michi esse profiteor, et quotiens ab illius desideranda facie recedo, non paruum quidem emolumentum perdo animę meę. Conqueror autem super amorem illius quia nisi ualde illam diligerem, profecto diuitias eiusdem assidua lectione nec modo diei sed etiam noctis minime rimatus fuissem. Et si ipsa aliquid scientię michi nequaquam attribuisset, liquet plane inde quia me claustrale uinculum obligatum adhuc detinuisset. Itaque ipsa me expulit, ipsa eadem nisi me reuocauerit, dolorem qui consolationem non recipit, pectori meo intorsit. Leuius namque michi esset si amplexus illius nunquam expertus fuissem, qui modo inter turbines mundi residere compellor.

EXPLICIT PRĘFATIO. INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN LIBRO DEUTERONOMII.

Explanatione consummata in librum Ruth Moabitistis, nonnulla stilo assignare uolui quę sunt difficilia intellectu sicut reor in libro Deuteronomii, licet pleramque partem huius contineat liber Leuitici super quem nuper plenariam[e] expositionem prout dominus iesus sumministrare dignatus est, iam ediderim. Itaque faciliora summotenus attingens, et grauiora diligentius inuestigans, eum a quo *est omnis sapientia*[4] humili deuotione imploro, ut huic operi manum[f] suam porrigat, et ab ipso sumat exordium et in eodem accipiat terminum. Tandem libri uerba ponamus et totum quod meę pusillitati sapientia dei patris inspirauerit, tuo desiderio satisfaciens exaratum stilo tenui transmittemus.[g] Et quoniam presentia tuę collocutionis uti non ualeo, tanquam ad signam sagittas iaciens, opus istud ad te dirigo: ut dum ictus harum sagittarum non infligentium sed tollentium uulnus loetiferum[h] in antro pectoris susceperis, teneas affixam tibi

[e] riam *add. in marg. a.* P.

[f] manum P] manuum B.

[g] ns *add. supra a.* P.

[h] loetiferum P] letiferum B.

memoriam mei nominis. Porro utiliora sunt uulnera amici quam oscula blanda inimici.[5]

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. INCIPIT COMMENTARIUM IN QUIBUSDAM CAPITULIS.

[1] Cf. Ecclesiastes 11. 4.

[2] Cf. Matthew 6. 19; Luke 12. 33.

[3] Cf. Luke 10. 38–42.

[4] Ecclesiastes 1. 1.

[5] Cf. Proverbs 27. 6.

Appendix V

Richard of Préaux, Explanatio in librum Ruth

The following edition is based on a collation of the three extant manuscripts, with the earliest manuscript, P, providing the base text.[1]

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 13201, fols 1–1^{v} (*s.* XII^{in}). The manuscript formerly belonged to the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Pres, 671 *olim* 256; a note in a late medieval hand notes: *Iste liber est de abbatia sancti petri de pratellensis*.

C = Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 135 (B. IV. 21), fols 131^{v}–132^{v} (Christ Church, Canterbury, *s.* XII^{ex}–XIII^{in}).

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 715 (SC 2622), fol. 1 (Bury St Edmunds, *s.* XIII^{1}).

INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN LIBRUM RUTH.[a]
Benedictus dominus deus israel,[2] qui suos athletas in huius uitę calamitate peregrinantes mellito pane sacri eloquii refoculando confortat, donec ab aduersariis suis tropheum reportare pręualeant. Quis enim christicolarum contra hostem antiquum dimicaturus, singulare certamen inire fiducialiter presumit, nisi presidio sacrarum scripturarum munitus fuerit? Item quis nostrum crebras tempestates huius mundi tolerans, naui sua periclitante portum tranquillę stationis poterit apprehendere, si lucifluam notionem sacrę paginę sibi contigerit non habere? Est enim ipsa lux quę nullo turbine, nullo machinamento hereticę prauitatis potest extingui. Cęterum quanto magis argutiis uirosarum linguarum uentilatur, tanto magis clarior ac uehementior redditur. Ante cuius fores, fili karissime Adelelme, tamquam uernaculus et alumnus[b] excubare gratularis, et de cuius riuulis arescere nescientibus sitim tuam admodum concupiscibilem refrigerare frequenter conaris. Non enim in hac uita sitis appetendę sapientię seu iusticię penitus potest extingui, quoniam non est in anima puritas tanta, quantam exigit sibi rite sapientia uel iusticia. Quis enim sapientię profunditatem aut iusticię prerogatiuam potis est assequi, sicut desiderium illius ad utrumlibet capessendum flagrascit? Quippe corpus quod corrumpitur aggrauat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem. Proinde necessarie sequitur, quia eo mens

[a] INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN LIBRUM RUTH P B] Incipit explanatio super librum Ruth edita a quodam dominice crucis servo. Incipit prologus Ric[ardi] Abbatis de pratellensis. C.

[b] alumnus P C] alumpnus B.

humana capacior[c] sapientię fuerit, quo mundiciam laborauerit adipisci. Igitur nimio labore purganda est acies mentis, ut intuitu libero candorem tantę lucis cernere possit. Quatinus uel quibusdam rimulis mereatur radios illius conspicari, ne forte peragrans de uia uel anfractus uastę solitudinis incurrat insidias antiqui serpentis. Porro si illam sectatus fueris et eiusdem amplexibus gratiosis cohęseris, et securus dormies et morsus hominum brutorum sustinere nequaquam expauesces. Corrosiones quorum quidem crebro perpessus sum in explanando pleraque mysteria ueteris testamenti. Uerumtamen *caritas patiens est, benigna est*.[3] Etenim satius est mihi ab ęmulis clauam herculis[4] capiti meo preminentem sustinere, quam tuę postulationi non obaudire. Itaque non immemor tuę petitionis ut tuę uidelicet personę aliquid scriberem dirigendum, librum Ruth aggredior explanandum, quanuis[d] quidam frater quem propter libertatem indolis suę tanquam meipsum diligo, sepe et multum rogauerit, ut arcana[e] prefati libri munere diuinę clementię patefacta mihi stilo assignarem. Nunc confidens in eo quidem qui dicit, *aperi os tuum et implebo illud*,[5] aperio et ego, respiciens in manus illius tanquam indigens pane uero quem constat esse cibum angelorum. Itaque tum oboedientia[f] fretus, tum uinculis caritatis deuinctus, uerba hystorię ponamus.
EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. INCIPIT EXPLANATIO IN LIBRUM RUTH A QUODAM MONACHO EDITA.[g]

[1] On the manuscripts, see G. de Martel, *Répertoire des texts latins relatifs au livre de Ruth (VII^e–XV^e s.)*, Instrumenta Patristica, 18 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), pp. 29–30.

[2] Psalm 40. 14; 71. 18.

[3] I Corinthians 13. 4.

[4] Richard here seems to be referring to a literary image akin to the sword of Damocles.

[5] Psalm 81. 11.

[c] capacior P B] capatior C.

[d] quanuis P] quamuis B C.

[e] arcana P] archana B C.

[f] oboedientia P] obedientia B C.

[g] A QUODAM MONACHO EDITA P B] *om*. C.

Appendix VI

Richard of Préaux, In Parabolas Salomonis

The following edition is based on a collation of the following two manuscripts; Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 29 has provided the base text.[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 465 contains Richard's commentary on Proverbs but lacks the beginning of the commentary.

C = Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 29, fols 1–1[v] (Bury St Edmunds, *s.* XII).

B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 724, fols 1–2 (Battle Abbey?, *s.* XII).

The prefatory letter to Pontius of Cluny was published by the late Dom Jean Leclercq (= L) working from Bodleian MS 724: 'Écrits monastiques sur la Bible aux XI[e]–XIII[e] siècles', *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953), 95–106 (p. 96).

Incipit tractatus in Parabolas Salomonis editus a quodam dominicę crucis seruo.[a] Incipit epistola eiusdem ad abbatem Cluniacensis.[b]

Pontio uenerando abbati Cluniacensis[c], quidam seruus dominicę crucis ea quę dei sunt palato cordis, facere, docere gustare,[d] et ad metam[e] usque propositę religionis pręuia atque ductrice censura rationis identidem perducere.

Consideranti michi, pater uenerande, quid personę uestrę specialius atque potissimum mittere possem, profecto Prouerbia Salomonis studio proprii stili enucleata et assignata in presentiarum occurrunt. Quatinus id quod per impensas forensium obsequiorum nusquam promeruerim neque, ni fallor, per reliquum ętatis iam quidem in senium uergentis promeriturus sim, uel lectio presens michi satagat impetrare, representans interdum uobis memoriam nominis mei. Ne id autem, quęso, uos pensetis quod datur, sed a quo datur, quoniam qui dat id quod sibi melius existimat, non utique repulsam pati debet.

Explicit epistola.[f] Incipit prologus.

[a] Incipit tractatus in Parabolas Salomonis editus a quodam dominicę crucis seruo. C] In prouerbia Salomonis B.

[b] Incipit epistola eiusdem ad abbatem Cluniacensis C] *om*. B.

[c] Cluniacensis C] cluniensis coenobii B

[d] docere docere *a. corr. ms.* C.

[e] metam C B] morte L.

[f] Explicit epistola C] Explicit Proemium B.

Post negotia forensium rerum, item post frequentes strepitus indocilis uulgi, post angores inestimabiles ac intollerabiles[g] curę pastoralis regrediens ad[h] me, quantum quidem dispendium propositę ac prosequendę religionis inuitus sustineam, uix considerare tamquam inops consilii, tamquam oblitus comedere[i] panem meum possum. Quoniam antequam ahelum pectus pristinam pacem reparare sibi ualeat, et serenitas mentis in priorem statum speculatiuę considerationis reformetur, frequenter memoria uisarum rerum introrsus furentium atque tumultantium ad importunam consuetudinem disponendi quęlibet labentia miserabiliter non compos sui relabitur. Cumque nulla uia, nullus exitus, nulla quidem industria michi circumspicienti quo abierim, quantumue stuporem animi perferam, aliquotiens patefiant, profecto michi superest postrema consolatio miserorum gemitus uidelicet, suspiria, profusio quoque lacrimarum. Ut autem sarcinam atque calamitatem huiusmodi grauius patiar, paruuli quamplures postulant a me, non tamquam a paruulo, sibi frangi panes mysticos sacrarum scripturarum. Cumque michi uires ingenii, facultas sermonis, collatio supernę gratię desint, tamen nemini petenti denego me daturum quod petit, licet nondum habeam quod dare possim cuipiam esurienti, et tamquam indigenti panem tuum, domine iesu christe, ad manus meas respicienti. Proinde michi tanta presumptio plurimum indigenti, o fons summę sapientię, nisi a temetipso dicente: *Petite et dabitur uobis, quęrite e inuenietis, pulsate et aperietur uobis?*[2] Item per apostolum tamquam per organum tuę uocis, ad amplexus tuę sapientię mellifluos unicuique properanti dictum est: *Si quis indiget sapientia, postulet a deo qui dat omnibus affluenter et non improperat et dabitur ei*.[3] Muneris igitur tui est, domine pater, oratum conferre, quęsitum affore, pulsatum aperire. Quid ergo paruulus et ego paruulis tribuam? Omnino nichil. Igitur non de meo sed de tuo dandum est, si quippiam dedero. Da michi, domine, spiritum humilitatis, cuius potentia, cuius uigore, cuius consideratione atque censura panes priscę legis confringuntur, quorum edulio tędio quidem carente diuersus ordo credentium magni scilicet et parui coaluntur, roborantur, impinguantur. Porro panes huiusmodi Dauid tamquam preparator eorum uescebatur, dum diceret: *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, super mel ori meo*.[4] Et rursum. *Parasti in conspectu meo*[j] *mensam, aduersus eos qui tribulant me*.[5] Hi sunt, domine, panes obuoluti

[g] intollerabiles C] intolerabiles B.

[h] ad ad *a. corr. ms.* C.

[i] comedere C] commedere B.

[j] meo meo *a. corr. ms.* C.

duro cortice sed post fractionem gratissimi, quos tuis apostolis confregisti, et ut turbis apponerent precepisti. Frange itaque michi, quęso, ne paruuli impasti discedentes deficiant in uia, pręcipue illi quos constat de longe uenisse ad te. *Domine, tu scis insipientiam meam, et delicta mea a te non sunt abscondita*.[6] Quocirca proiectus a facie oculorum tuorum nequeo penetrare uel frangere panem tuum, quoniam *panem doloris*[7] utpote filius primi parentis comedens, inbecillitatem quidem mentalis uirtutis perfero, ideoque non sum idoneus in prosequendo fractionem panum occultorum. Quod si michi solitam fractionem quam duobus discipulis euntibus in castellum nomine Emaus ac demum residentibus ad mensam benedicendo panem plurimum commendasti,[8] tamquam experti gratię tuę, tamquam libro iusticię subtraxeris, dubio procul spem te uidendi ferme tollis. Quippe proprium est electorum neque ruinam uirtutum experiri nisi per negligentiam conseruandę humilitatis, neque repulsam spiritualis gratię perpeti. Tandem in gratia tua confisus, Parabolas Salomonis prout multi postulant obnixe, enucleare conabor, dextera tua stilum nostrum regente atque diligens studium et peruicax iuxta prouectum lectoris moderante.
Explicit prologus.[k]

[1] On the provenance of the manuscripts, see Bell, '"Lost" Commentary', pp. 115–16.

[2] Matthew 7. 7; Luke 11. 9.

[3] James 1. 5.

[4] Psalm 118. 103.

[5] Psalm 22. 5.

[6] Cf. Psalm 68. 6.

[7] Psalm 126. 2.

[8] Cf. Luke 24. 13.

[k] Explicit prologus C] *om*. B.

Appendix VII

Richard of Préaux, In librum Ecclesiasten

The following edition is based upon a collation of the manuscripts listed below; because of its early date and association with Préaux, the Vatican manuscript has been used to provide the base text.[1]

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 9660, fols 1–2 (Saint-Pierre de Préaux, *s.* XII^{in}).

T = Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 98, fols 4–5 (*s.* XII).

C= Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 642, fols 1–1^{v} (Clairvaux, *s.* XII^{ex}).

INCIPIT PREFATIO[a] IN LIBRUM ECCLESIASTEN[b]

Arnulfo uenerabili uiro abbati Troarnici coenobii, frater quidam habitu monachus, propositi religiosi transgressor, uestigia summi pastoris gressu directo resculpere. Quidam fratres sepe et multum me quidem postulauere, uti secundum paupertatulam ingenioli mei librum ecclesiasten attemptarem eis explanare. Qui licet nonnullis nequaquam difficilis esse uideatur, tamen unusquisque qui uerba tanti concionatoris trutinare potis est, admodum magnis obscuritatibus esse perplexum experitur. Et quo profundioris sapientię prerogatiuam indeptus fuerit, eo siquidem in illo multo magis reperiet id quod prolatum dignum sit. Hęc itaque considerans, plurimas causas quę me impotem esse circa huiusmodi negotium protestantur, sępiuscule prędatis exactoribus preferebam, tum quia uires peritię meę tantum onus tolerare nequibant, tum uero quia penuria scriptoris me plurimum artabat. Illis tamen insistentibus, demum caritas cui constat esse cuncta possibilia,[2] calamum arripiens manui meę imposuit. Tunc ego posthabita politione, ęque retractione uerborum, sicut ori sermo impolitus occurrebat, ita sane pennę committens articulo prosequente uelocis manus assignabam. Quocirca mirandum esse non reor, sicubi scatens reperitur oratio. Ideoque michi necessarium esse perpendi, ut uobis quem plurimum gratia dei patrocinante prędituum fultum quoque ui profundę rationis meminerim, opusculum istud iudicio uestro examinandum transmitterem. Quoniam quanto quilibet rationi innititur, tanto magis proculdubio lumine ueritatis perlustratur, cuius manu censoria falsa a ueris dirimuntur; item id totum quod futile constat esse, resecatur. Ad hęc quicquid in explanatione ista corrigeris, et ego; rursus quicquid in eadem

[a] PREFATIO] Prefacio C.

[b] INCIPIT PREFATIO IN LIBRUM ECCLESIASTEN] *om*. T.

probabitis, et ego. Quippe testimonium michi reddente conscientia quę uix fallitur, non ambigens profiteor, oppido maiorem uobis quam michi ualentiam atque perspicuitatem inesse rationis. Ne hoc quidem immerito contingere uidetur, quoniam ubi magis mundicia cordis uersatur, ibi haud iniuria lux maior perspicuę ueritatis, sedem obtinere sibi gratam dinoscitur. Et quia scriptum est, *audiens sapiens sapientior erit*,[3] quęso uos ne sit uobis tędium in legendo transcurrere hunc tractatum, quoniam quidem securius recitari poterit, ubi eum postrema uestra manus ad unguem eliminauerit.[c] Et si non uobis, uel simplicibus quorum exactioni[d] paret, quamlibet paruum fructum contulerit. Et quoniam presentiam uestri colloquii nequaquam habere promeruerim, cuius sedulitate non modicam utilitatem michi prouenturam crediderim, uel importunitate lectionis meę perstrepente uestras aures pulsare decreuerim. Et enim si id quod uolo non possum, saltem id uolo quod possum.[4]

INCIPIT PROLOGUS[e]

Salomon humanam naturam paternę traditionis cyrographo proscriptam esse condolens, et sola domini gratia reparandam sicut presagus futurę redemptionis considerans, tres libros magnis obscuritatibus perplexos luculento sermone composuit. Ut sicut primus homo per insipientiam, tum per appetitum rerum caducarum illicitum, tum uero per contemptum sui conditoris plurimis se inferioribus obnoxius factus fuerat; sic per triplicem prouectum quem prefati libri redolent, ad id quod iuste perdiderat, diuturno labore adhibito reuerti ualeret. Primo namque libro cui titulus inest Prouerbia Salomonis, tradit prędicepta disciplinę paruulis, ut cum ceruicem suam illius iugo mansuetissimo summiserint, repente caliginoso[f] errori cedentes, ad tramitem lucifluę ueritatis transire possint. Cum uero tenebris insipientię caput suum diutius assuetum uiriliter erexerint, protinus lenocinantis mundi illecebris quarum prius principatum tolerauerant, aduersum se tumultum quam maximum excitantibus tendentes ad patriam fatigari perhibentur. Non enim facile potest anima nociuam consuetudinem infimę dilectionis quęcirca res mundanas uersatur, prorsus abigere, quam constat artius sibi inolitam fuisse. Cęterum uigore[g] sapientię preualente penes eos qui iam annos paruulę ętatis euasere, paulatim fallaciam labentium rerum quę

[c] eliminauerit C] elimauerit V T.

[d] exactioni V T] actioni C.

[e] INCIPIT PROLOGUS C] om. T; INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS V.

[f] calinoso C *a. corr. ms.*

[g] uigore T C] *om.* V.

conturbant mentis tranquillitatem, enituntur labefactare. Interim uero secundus liber qui Ecclesiastes appellatur, rixam uehementem altercantium bifaria causa proposita dirempturus rite subsequitur. Deinceps sedata tumultuantis animę tempestate quam grauiter species fugitiuarum rerum illexerat, tandem nuptiali thalamo summi regis ascribi promeretur, quod designat liber qui Cantica canticorum inscribitur. In his plane luculento stilo conscriptis processus uirtutum commendatur, quas unusquisque anhelans ad supernę glorię brauium adipisci conatur. Quanti uero pendenda sunt cuncta quę labuntur, quanam quidem ratione ea quę scolę uirtutum repugnant, imperio animi subicienda sunt, textum libri prosequendo uideamus.[h]

[1] On the manuscripts, see Avril, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits', pp. 227–28.

[2] Cf. 1 Corinthians 16. 14; Matthew 19. 26.

[3] Proverbs 1. 5.

[4] Cf. Romans 6. 19.

[h] Incipit tractatus in libro ecclesiasten a quodam monacho editus C] *om*. V T.

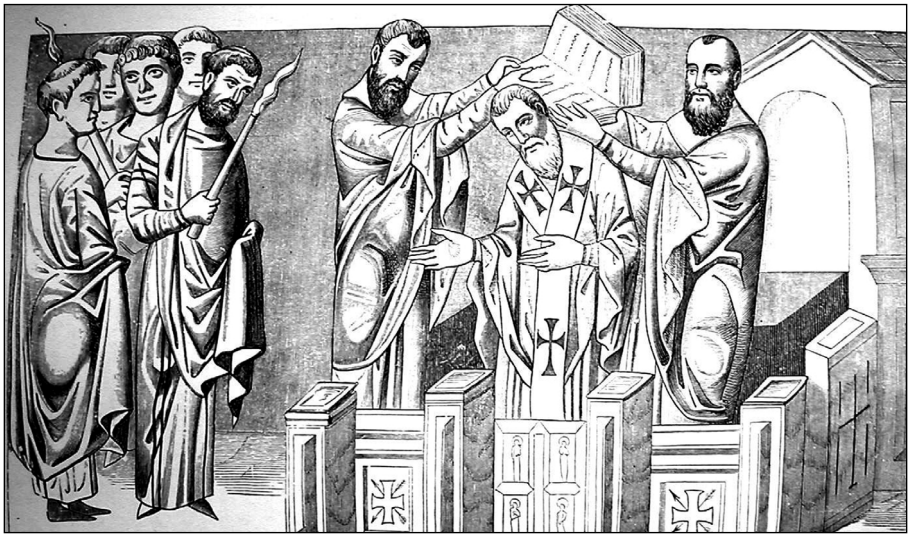


Figure 19. Coronation of a Bishop, Ninth-Century Miniature in Gregory of Nazianzen's Commentaries, Bibliothèque de Bourgogne, Brussels; from Paul La Croix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance,* rev. edn (London: J. S. Virtue, 1881), p. 352.

Educating the Bishop: Models of Episcopal Authority and Conduct in the Hagiography of Early Twelfth-Century Soissons

John S. Ott

When a new bishop ascended his see following his consecration, his formal introduction to the community typically came by means of an *adventus*, a processional arrival ceremony, often beginning several kilometres outside the city walls.[1] The *adventus* included visits to local churches or monasteries and a sermon, and culminated in the prelate's installation in the cathedral.[2] The episcopal arrival ceremony provided an opportune moment for

[1] Material support for the research of this essay was generously provided by a Faculty Enhancement Grant from Portland State University (2001) and a Research Stipend from the National Endowment of the Humanities (2002), which supported archival work at the Bibliothèque Royale and Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Brussels, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris. I would like to acknowledge warmly Philippe Buc, Brad Gregory, Jay Rubenstein, and Laura Smoller for their suggestions and improvements. Earlier versions and bits of this work were read at the 2001 Spring Conference of the American Catholic Historical Association and at the Thirty-Eighth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, 8–11 May 2003. My thanks to those audiences for their remarks and input. Omissions and errors are mine alone.

[2] We are fortunate to have a surviving twelfth-century Ritual, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 8898, containing the entry ceremony for the city of Soissons, composed at the instigation of Bishop Nivelo of Quierzy (r. 1175–1207) between 1180 and 1189 and edited by Alexandre Poquet, *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis, tempore episcopi Nivelonis exaratum* (Soissons: Société archaeologique, historique et scientifique de Soissons, 1856), pp. 64–67. On surviving liturgical books from the diocese of Soissons (of which this is among the oldest), see Jules de Laprairie, 'Les livres liturgiques du diocèse de Soissons', *Bulletin de la société archéologique, historique et scientifique de Soissons*, 6 (1852), 52–71 (pp. 55–56). The text of the *adventus* may be found more readily in Georges Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons et le groupe*

the constituencies of the community to initiate hoped-for relationships with their new spiritual lord, by making pleas or petitioning for favours and privileges. Especially for a bishop not elevated from the ranks of the local clergy, the *adventus* marked the beginning of a process of transition and familiarization with his role, the local community's expectations, and the place itself. Novel socio-political networks and rivalries, unfamiliar devotional cults, and, most importantly, the collective mytho-historical past of the place all had to be comprehended and mastered.

Such was the situation which greeted Josselin of Vierzy, newly anointed Bishop of Soissons, in 1126 or 1127. Although born in the diocese about twelve kilometres from its see, and no doubt familiar with the episcopal city and its environs, Josselin had spent his professional career and much of his adult life first at Paris, where he was *magister* of a school on the hill of Sainte-Geneviève, and later at Bourges, where he was apparently archdeacon from about 1118 to 1126.[3] At Soissons, he was confronted almost immediately with a complicated religious and political environment, including rivalries among the urban commune and the city's principal monasteries of Saint-Médard, Saint-Crépin, and Notre-Dame. Josselin's transition was further vexed by a vicious outbreak of ergotism, colloquially called the 'holy fire' (*ignis sacer*), which raged across northern France between 1128 and 1131. Within roughly a year of assuming his seat, the new Bishop had to contend with waves of suffering pilgrims descending upon the city and its monasteries, seeking relief and healing through their relics.

All three houses promoted the salutary effects of their relics in the years following the onset of disease. Notre-Dame boasted a popular cult around its slipper of the Virgin Mary, and Saint-Médard displayed the healing power of its patron saint Gregory I, a pontiff of established disease-fighting ability. For its part Saint-Crépin sought to generate enthusiasm for the patronage of two of its early benefactors, the Merovingian bishop-saints Ansaricus and Bandaridus. At the same time the monasteries, in varying degrees of collaboration with the episcopal see, produced a substantial number of miracle collections and hagiographies celebrat-

communale soissonnais, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 167 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1908), pp. 405–06.

[3] Early biographical evidence of Josselin and his works is slim. The extent of his stay at Paris, for example, is unknown; but see L. Jacquemin, 'Annales de la vie de Josselin de Vierzi, 57[e] évêque de Soissons (1126–1152)', in *Quatrièmes mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge*, ed. by Achille Luchaire (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1905), pp. 1–161 (pp. 1–7, nos 1–4). While Jacquemin states that Josselin was in some way associated with the cathedral chapter of Soissons around 1115, I have found no evidence to confirm this.

ing the virtues of their sacred dead. These contemporary writings, with one exception, commemorated the lives and miraculous works of holy bishops.[4] The combined production of saints' lives and miracle collections at Soissons in the first few decades of the twelfth century established the city as a major centre of literary production in northern France and Flanders, a fact heretofore seldom noticed.[5] Indeed, the hagiographical corpus produced at Soissons's principal monasteries and by its bishops in this period mark it as a cultural centre of some significance, if one overshadowed in contemporary and modern sources by the intellectual achievements of the cathedral schools and their masters at Paris, Laon, and Reims.[6]

Of course, the education of the ecclesiastical elite took many forms, and study of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the poetics of self-expression and discipline at the

[4] See Appendix A below for a complete list. All but one of these bishops had ruled Soissons.

[5] The recent survey of hagiographical production in the archdiocese of Reims by Ienje van 't Spijker only hints at the total body of work produced at Soissons; see her 'Gallia du Nord et de l'Ouest: Les provinces ecclésiastiques de Tours, Rouen, Reims (950–1130)', in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994–2001), II (1996), 276–77, as well as her earlier monograph, *Als door een speciaal stempel: Traditie en vernieuwing in heiligenlevens uit Noordwest-Frankrijk (1050–1150)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990). Renée I. A. Nip, in her study *Arnulfus van Oudenburg, Bisschop van Soissons (†1087), Mens en Model: Een bronnenstudie* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1995), pp. 221–22, mentions the episcopal hagiographical tradition at Soissons in passing. Hagiographical production at the monastery of Saint-Médard is by far the best understood of any local institution, owing in part to its controversial relic collection; see Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Les sources latines d'un miracle de Gautier de Coincy: L'apparition de Ste. Léocadie à St Ildephonse', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 71 (1953), 100–32, and more recently *Saint-Médard: Trésors d'une abbaye royale*, compiled by Denis Defente (Paris: Somogy Editions d'Art, 1996), pp. 117–21.

[6] On these schools, their personnel, and their intellectual programmes, one may consult, generally, Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), esp. pp. 46–82; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 56–62; and Patricia Stirnemann, 'Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la Glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XII^e^ siècle?', in *Le XII^e^ siècle: Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e^ siècle*, ed. by Françoise Gasparri (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1994), pp. 257–301. Of the activities of Soissons's cathedral school we know very little apart from the names of some of its masters; see Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Les écoles capitulaires et les collèges de Soissons au moyen âge et au XVI^eme^ siècle', in *Etudes et documents sur l'Île-de-France et la Picardie au moyen âge*, vol. I, *Compiègne et le soissonnais* (Compiègne: Ville de Compiègne, 1994), pp. 363–465.



Figure 20. The Ruins of Saint-Jean des Vignes, Soissons: a ghost from the city's glorious past. Photograph by Jay Rubenstein.

cathedral schools was but one of them. The fundamental aim of sacred biography was also didactic: *vitae* were composed to educate a variety of constituencies, from common folk to monks to secular and ecclesiastical lords. As scholars of hagiography have emphasized in recent decades, the *vitae* of saints served not only to illuminate the past but were, just as importantly, narratives that communities and individuals used to understand and order their present.[7] At base the authors of hagiography strived to display the connection between the divine will and its presence in the world — only as personified in the saint rather than revealed through the consideration of and commentary on scriptural meaning.[8] The lives of saints provided medieval men and women with evidence of God's ongoing acts of creation, and through the saints' regular liturgical commemoration, the local church and its holy patrons were bound to the universal Church and its fraternity of apostles, martyrs, and confessors.[9] Hagiography was a tool of a different sort than those used to plumb the mind of God at the cathedral schools, but it educated all the same.[10]

[7] The already large and rapidly growing historiography is too great to include here. Notable recent monographs include Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684–1090*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 122 (Toronto: PIMS, 1995); Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Stephanie Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997).

[8] Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), chapters 1–3, esp. pp. 5–6, 18–24, 57–71, 87–89, 98–100.

[9] As in the litanies for Soissons: Poquet, *Rituale seu mandatum*, pp. 42, 131; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 17734, fols 31^{v}–34^{r}; f. lat. 8898, fols 31^{v}, 115^{v} (both late twelfth-century liturgical texts).

[10] Like biblical commentaries, hagiography also denied the imposition of the self in the authorial process, as pointed out by John Van Engen, 'Letters, Schools and Written Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century', in *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Johannes Fried (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), pp. 97–132 (p. 103 and n. 25). It goes without saying that a number of the leading intellectuals of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries wrote hagiography in addition to treatises on moral and ethical themes. The distinctions once made between historiography and hagiography are also under heavy assault by historians; see for example Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre:

Given the multifunctional aspects of hagiography, it comes as no surprise that contemporary *vitae* of bishop-saints produced at Soissons should present to Josselin the local monastic communities' understanding of the ways in which divine providence had historically structured relations between themselves and the city's saintly bishops. *Instructio* was not unilateral, however. It travelled both ways. The creation of hagiography involved a dialectical, ideological exchange between creator and patron, as the preambles to saints' lives often avow. Hariulf, the Abbot of Oldenburg and co-author (with Lisiard, Bishop of Soissons, r. 1108–26) of the *Vita sancti Arnulfi episcopi Suessionensis*, noted in his dedicatory epistle to the Bishop of Noyon-Tournai that it was only by 'the judgment of his authority' that the work would be promoted or suppressed. Without the Bishop's salt of wisdom, wrote Hariulf, the elaborate dishes he had prepared would end in scorn rather than delight.[11] Did Josselin then, the recipient of several of the hagiographical works, also assume a certificatory role in the formulation of their contents?

The historical situation may be assembled in straightforward fashion, and it established the setting for the texts' ideologies. We will turn to this shortly. As to their heuristic elements, the *vitae*, especially those produced at Saint-Crépin, contained apposite portrayals of the charismatic Bishop acting in a variety of capacities: as defender against natural disaster, as an obedient and reverent partner to monks, and as mediator and peacemaker among the urban classes. Above all the saints' lives produced at Saint-Crépin and the *miracula* from Saint-Médard supplied models of virtuous priestly behaviour, displayed through topoi often used to illustrate the traditional roles of bishops towards their flocks. The hagiographers drew selectively upon established archetypes of pastoral authority, mainly upon the figure of Moses but also upon St Martin and Gregory the Great. They included hagiographical exempla which drew on these icons to establish the *synkrisis*, or shared grace, between them and local saints Ansaricus,

"Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator*, 25 (1994), 95–113; Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 158–59; Anne-Marie Helvétius, 'Les saints et l'histoire: L'apport de l'hagiologie à la médiévistique d'aujourd'hui', in *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, ed. by Hans-Werner Goetz (Bochum: Winkler, 2000), pp. 135–63.

[11] Hariulf of Oldenburg and Lisiard of Crépy, *Vita sancti Arnulfi episcopi Suessionensis, auctore Hariulfo, coaequali, et a Lisiardo, episcopo Suessionensis, item coaequali, ut videtur, recognita*, *PL* 174, cols 1371–1438 (cols 1371–73); a new edition of the *vita brevior* composed by Lisiard (lacking Hariulf's prefatory epistles and collection of Arnulf's posthumous miracles, added to the *vita longior*) has been produced by Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 255–80.

Bandaridus, and Godfrey — and so between these saints and the Bishop of Soissons, Josselin, and his successors.[12]

The ideology of episcopal authority which emerged served both the monasteries' interests in building the cults of their patron-saints as well as Josselin's desire to insert himself into the monks' celestial *societas* and the earthly urban society over which he presided. Josselin directly patronized the redaction of two of Saint-Crépin's *vitae*; a third, concerning the recently deceased Godfrey, Bishop of Amiens (d. 1115), was dedicated to the dean of Soissons cathedral, Rohard, and was effusive in its praise for Josselin himself.[13] As we shall see, the Bishop invested himself in the cults of Saint-Crépin and Saint-Médard, performing a pair of relic elevations at the former and leading various liturgical celebrations of the cult of Gregory at the latter. Josselin was, moreover, an avid collector of local hagiography. A partial catalogue of the collection he donated to the cathedral archives, containing the biographies of numerous local saints, survives in a late sixteenth-century hand list compiled by a canon of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Nicholas Belfort.[14] Josselin thus had a direct hand in the formulation of an ideology of episcopal rule at Soissons in the early twelfth century, an ideology most certainly shaped by local concerns and debates about the form and limits of episcopal administration and authority.

Confronting Doubters in the Face of Death: Saint-Médard and its Cult of Gregory the Great

Liturgical and hagiographical sources provide reasonably reliable guides to the ecclesiastical topography of Soissons; annals, *vitae*, and charters fill in the rest.[15]

[12] Moses was a tried and true archetype of the good shepherd. See the useful analysis of Marguerite Harl, 'Moïse figure de l'évêque dans l'*Eloge de Basil* de Grégoire de Nysse (381)', in *The Biographical Works of Gregory of Nyssa: Proceedings of the Fifth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa (Mainz, 6–10 September 1982)*, ed. by Andreas Spira, Patristic Monograph Series, 12 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1984), pp. 71–119 (pp. 79–86); also Bernard Jacqueline, *Episcopat et papauté chez Saint Bernard de Clairvaux* (Lille: Université Lille III, 1975), pp. 282, 290–91.

[13] Rohard was dean *c.* 1126–39. For the latter, see Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi episcopi Ambianensis*, ed. by Albert Poncelet, *AASS* November (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910), III, 905–06, also pp. 941–42.

[14] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouvelle acquisition latine 950, fol. 1^{v}.

[15] For the ecclesiastical topography of Soissons, see Claude Dormay, *Histoire de la ville de Soissons et de ses rois, ducs, comtes, et gouverneurs: Avec une suitte des evesques, et un abbregé de*

Together with the cathedral of Saints Gervais-et-Protais, these abbeys housed the bones of the town's holy confessor-bishops and martyrs. The cathedral contained the tombs of saints Principius, Lupus, and Ansaricus, all former bishops.[16] In addition to the relics of its founding patrons, Crispin and Crispinian, the monastery of Saint-Crépin housed the tombs of saints Divitianus, Edibius, Bandaridus (all Gallo-Roman or Merovingian Bishops of Soissons), and of the saintly Godfrey of Amiens. At the nunnery of Notre-Dame reposed the relics of the local Bishop Drausius, a hermit-priest named Vodoalus Benedictus, and the slipper of the Virgin Mary, among others.[17] Saint-Médard, meanwhile, contained a vast collection that included St Onesimus (a fourth-century Bishop of Soissons); the infamously acquired relics of Marcellinus, Peter, Sebastian, and Tiburtius; the bones and a sacramental cup of Pope Gregory I; and the notorious baby tooth of Christ.[18]

leurs actions, 2 vols (Soissons: Nicholas Asseline, 1663–64), who provides a series of 'proofs' for his map in the frontispiece to volume I; Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons*, p. 34; Fernand Vercauteren, *Etude sur les* civitates *de la Belgique Seconde: Contribution à l'histoire urbaine du nord de la France de la fin du IIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, 2nd series, 33 (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1934), pp. 129–30; Reinhold Kaiser, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Civitas und Diözese Soissons in römischer und merowingischer Zeit*, Rheinisches Archiv, 89 (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1973), pp. 235–42, and map at p. 258; Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1975), pp. 34–42, with maps between pp. 40 and 41; and now Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Großbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: Vergleichende Studien zu den Kathedralstädten westlich des Rheins*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 43 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1998), pp. 162–71.

[16] Brief biographies of all three are in Kaiser, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 145–46, 226–27, 230–31.

[17] For Drausius and Vodoalus, one may consult the *Vita sancti Drausii, auctore anonymo Suessionensi*, *AASS* March (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1865), I, 403–09; *Vita sancti Vodoali*, *AASS* February (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1864), I, 697–99.

[18] On the more prominent *san-médardian* relics acquired through theft in 826–27, see Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 40–41, 46. The authenticity of the baby tooth was famously challenged by Guibert of Nogent, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 127 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 138–57. The diffusion of Gregory's cult to Saint-Médard is mentioned in passing by Pierre Jounel, 'Le culte de saint Grégoire le Grand', in *Grégoire le Grand: Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., Chantilly, 15–19 septembre 1982* (Paris: CNRS, 1986), pp. 671–80.

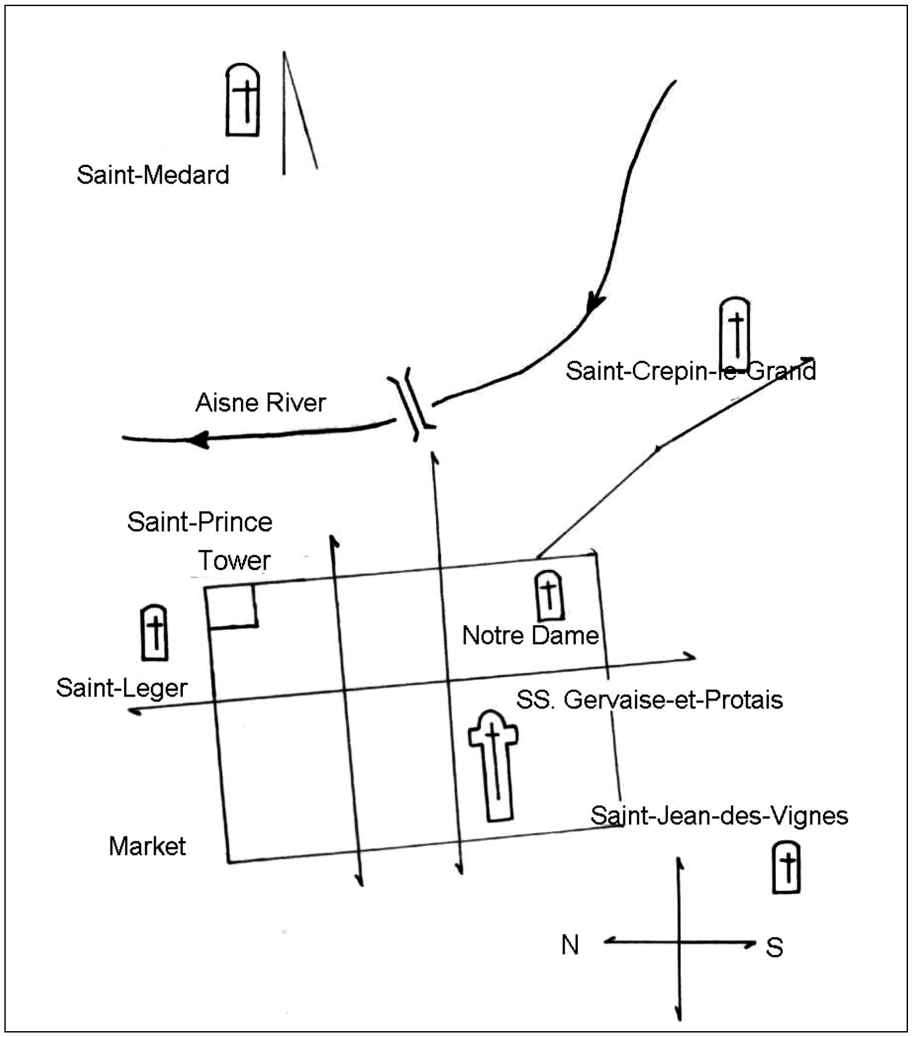


Figure 21. Map of Soissons. Drawn by John S. Ott

A significant catalyst for the flurry of hagiographical production at Soissons came in an outbreak of ergotism, which hit northern France hard in 1128.[19] A

[19] While outbreaks of disease and famine were semi-routine in the Middle Ages, the 1128 epidemic of ergot poisoning — which develops when infected rye is consumed and leads to gangrene in the extremities — was especially virulent. French and Flemish sources described harsh climatic fluctuations, food shortages, drought, and disease with marked regularity in the

contemporary monastic chronicler, Anselm of Gembloux, recorded that this *pestilentia maxima* ravaged Chartres, Paris, Cambrai, Arras, and Soissons.[20] At Soissons, wrote one eyewitness, 'The city was stricken with a sudden fear'.[21] From Saint-Médard came the observation, 'Every day, the churches were filled with the bodies of the dead to such an extent that their number frequently exceeded three-hundred'.[22] In addition to disease, added stimuli for the literary output lay in the growing power of the urban commune, rivalries among the city's monasteries, and the broader attenuation and transformation of episcopal authority in the social, cultural, and to some extent religious life of northern France during the period from 1070 to 1150.

When the afflicted began arriving in September 1128 from the neighbouring countryside in search of divine remedy, the monasteries marshalled their relics and turned in varying degrees to episcopal patronage and support. Medieval men and women knew well that all saints were not of equal ability when it came to warding off disease. Of Soissons's plague cults, that of the Virgin Mary at Notre-Dame was easily the most popular in the years between 1128 and 1131.[23] It drew

four decades prior to 1130. Outbreaks of ergotism occurred in Tournai in 1090 and 1094–96; in Arras in 1105, with evidence for Chartres and Burgundy in 1109; and in Paris *c.* 1124–37. Famine is recorded in the *soissonnais* in 1097, and in Flanders between 1124 and 1126. See Godescalc of Gembloux, *Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium: Continuatio*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 8 (Hannover: Hahn, 1848), p. 547; Gabriele Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt: Hagiographische und historiographische Annäherungen an eine hochmittelalterliche Wunderpredigt* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995), pp. 132–37; Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècle)* (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1985), pp. 249–51. Edouard Fleury, *La peste dans les diocèses de Laon et de Soissons* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1875), pp. 6–48, is to be used with caution.

[20] Anselm of Gembloux, *Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis. Continuatio*, ed. by L. C. Bethmann in MGH SS, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1842), p. 381.

[21] 'Percussa est civitas recenti metu': Hugh Farsit, *De miraculis beatae Mariae Virginis in urbe Suessionensi*, *PL* 179, cols 1777–1800 (col. 1778B).

[22] 'Implentur ecclesiae per singulos dies corporibus defunctorum, adeo ut trinarium numerum frequenter eorum numerus excederet': *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, *AASS* March (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1865), II, 940.

[23] Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt*, pp. 125–51, and Signori, 'The Miracle Kitchen and its Ingredients: A Methodical and Critical Approach to Marian Shrine Wonders (10th–13th Century)', *Hagiographica*, 3 (1996), 277–303. See also Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event (1000–1215)*, rev. edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), pp. 142–45. Both of Signori's works give an erroneous date of 1102 for the beginning of the miracles at Notre-Dame; this is based on a misprint in

pilgrims from as far away as Flanders and Maine. The chronicler of Mary's miracles, a canon of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes named Hugh Farsit, spoke of more than one hundred cures at the shrine within two weeks' time.[24] Knowledge of the Marian miracles at Soissons spread rapidly, and Hugh's brief record eventually became a set fixture of numerous *Mariales*, late medieval compilations of Mary's wonders.[25] Josselin is nowhere mentioned in the Notre-Dame miracle collection.

As pilgrims darkened Notre-Dame's doorway, the abbey of Saint-Médard looked to its relics of Gregory the Great (d. 604) for deliverance from the same disease. Neglecting to muster its bones of the plague saint Sebastian, the monks engaged Josselin to process with Gregory's relics during April Rogations in 1128 or 1129.[26] The Pope had been an established disease fighter in his own right since Gregory of Tours spoke admiringly of his communal processions to ward off plague in Rome in 590.[27] The fact that others, notably the nearby community of Saint-Crépin, had contested Saint-Médard's claim to possess Gregory's authentic relics may explain why the monks had pressed him into service, rather than Sebastian, at that crucial moment.[28]

Migne's edition of Hugh Farsit's work, at *PL* 179, col. 1799B. Manuscripts containing the Soissons miracles, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 2873 and 12593 to name two, give a date of 1132 for the final miracle in the collection; other twelfth-century manuscripts containing Farsit's work omit the 1132 miracle altogether.

[24] Hugh Farsit, *De miraculis*, col. 1780A.

[25] In a future project I plan to pursue further study of twelfth-century collections of Marian *miracula*.

[26] The timing of this procession and the description of the disease have been the source of some confusion. The text which describes the procession, the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, gives a date of 1126 for the onset of an 'inguinary disease' (*pestis inguinaria*). Inguinary disease is the term people in this period typically used to refer to bubonic plague, not ergotism, and the date 1126 precedes by two years the customary date for the onset of ergot poisoning in Soissons. The difficulty may be resolved if we (a) accept that the author's use of *pestis inguinaria* was a conscious attempt to model the account of the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* on Gregory of Tours's own description of Pope Gregory's defence of Rome from the plague; and/or (b) accept that the author accidentally gave an erroneous date. There seems no need to accept the possibility, which Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle*, pp. 157–60, is willing to admit, that the ergotism of 1128 followed an outbreak of bubonic plague in 1126.

[27] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ed. by Wilhelm Arndt in MGH SSRM, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1885), 1, 10, 1.

[28] *Saint-Médard*, comp. by Defente, pp. 118–21.

Saint-Médard's scriptorium actively produced miracle collections in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries to flesh out the bones of all its saints (see Appendix A). One of these collections, the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, formed part of the growing literary corpus at Saint-Médard which had as its objective the validation of the authenticity and power of the abbey's relics.[29] It is against a background of public scepticism about the abbey's claims to possess Pope Gregory's relics that the *Miracula* must be read. Its subject is a series of miracles performed by Gregory — Sebastian is barely mentioned — all but one of which occurred between the first quarter of the eleventh century and Josselin's episcopacy. In them, Gregory alternately assumes an admonitory and thaumaturgical persona, usually appearing in dreams to chastise those guilty of neglecting his cult. The recipients of his admonitions are the secular and ecclesiastical elite: kings, queens, nobles, monks, and bishops. Josselin is the central figure of the last five chapters of the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, and it is clear that its anonymous author saw in him a powerful advocate for Gregory.[30]

As the number of dead grew, notes the author, it seemed as much in the Bishop's judgment as in the judgment of all the people that they should beseech Gregory's aid on the very same day that he had historically driven plague from

[29] The process began in the late eleventh century with the production of a collection of *vitae* and *miracula* concerning Saint-Médard's saints, now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. regiae Sueciae 1864. The anonymously authored *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* followed around the middle of the twelfth century, possibly before Josselin's death in 1152 and certainly no later than 1158 (see Appendix B). Around 1158 appeared yet another collection of *miracula* of Gregory, Sebastian, and the baby tooth of Jesus (*BHL* 7547), untitled and heavily derivative of the earlier text, but with new material added. I have tried to distinguish them by designating the collections I and II, respectively. A twelfth-century copy of II from the abbey of Marchiennes is now at Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8714–19, fols 89^{r}–92^{v}, ed. in *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, 2 vols (Brussels: Polleunis, 1886–89), I (1889), 238–48. See de Gaiffier, 'Les sources latines', pp. 111–16 and 124–32.

[30] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 940. This despite the inclusion in the *Miracula* of a story denouncing the pretensions of an early eleventh-century Bishop of Soissons to the monastery's property. The Bishop in question was Fulk (d. 1019?), although the *Miracula* give a distorted name (Fulchosius) and death-date (1025). Fulk was punished with an inglorious death in the privy for refusing to cease his 'infestation' (*infestatione*) of the abbey's property. I have not turned up any evidence of a property dispute between the Bishop and monastery during either Josselin's or his immediate successor's time, for which the tale of Fulk might have served as a cautionary exemplum.

Rome.[31] Josselin led an anxious procession from Saint-Médard across the river to the nunnery of Notre-Dame, where he prayed to Mary and the saint, and thence to the cathedral. There he sang a Mass in the pontiff's memory and asked the Abbot of Saint-Médard to deliver the sermon, which he happily did. Wherever the wonder-working Pope was borne thereafter, 'the plague recognized its adversary and fled from his face'.[32] Josselin is later portrayed in the text reassuring the residents of an episcopal villa beset by ergotism that almsgiving and prayers to Gregory's cult would not go unheeded. Although incredulous, the people followed their bishop to the abbey to receive a curative in the form of wine that had been mixed in the Pope's own goblet.[33]

Josselin's powers of persuasion — and Gregory's own virtue — were next put to the test by the monks of Saint-Crépin. In either 1136 or 1137, the monks of Saint-Médard organized a procession of saints, including Gregory, to stave off a recurrence of ergotism.[34] The Bishop sent a messenger to Saint-Crépin to urge the monks to meet the procession of their cross-river rivals at the bridge over the Aisne. The community of Saint-Crépin balked, arguing that it was not fitting that martyrs — namely their founding patrons, Crispin and Crispinian — should go out to meet a confessor, Gregory. Josselin tried to broker a compromise. He strove, wrote the anonymous author of Saint-Médard, to break their unreasonable zeal and to convince Saint-Crépin to join the general procession.

[31] That is, on the day of the Major Litany (April 25); the details that follow are found in the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 940.

[32] 'Pestis impugnatorem suum recognoscit fugitque a facie eius': *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 941.

[33] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 941.

[34] The date traditionally given for this event is 1139, used by authors following Fleury, *La peste*, and Jacquemin, 'Annales', no. 108, pp. 66–67. In fact, the procession could not have happened later than 16 May 1137, and may even have occurred as early as 1133. The error occurred owing to confusion about the death-date of Theulph, Abbot of Saint-Crépin. He is known to have died on May 16, but by April 1138 his successor Ernaud was already installed in the abbey. Moreover, the last time local acts or charters mention Theulph is 1132. Hence, the range of possible dates for the procession must be expanded to the five years spanning May 1133 and May 1137. This, at least, is the accounting given by W. M. Newman, 'L'acte de Téulfe pour Saint-Crépin-le-Grand de Soissons (1135)', *Revue Mabillon*, 58 (1973), 170–75. However, the *Gallia christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 17 vols (Paris: Ex Typographia Regia, 1715–1865; repr. Westmead: Gregg International, 1970), IX, col. 397, notes that Theulph received an altar from the Bishop of Noyon in 1136, a transaction Newman inexplicably fails to mention. Thus, it would appear certain that Theulph died May 16 in either 1136 or 1137, providing us with a clear date for the return of ergotism to Soissons.

Despite bringing his impressive learning (*scientiam*) to bear, the Bishop could not completely win over the monks. They processed with their relics, yes, but apart from the others. Within a matter of days the naysayers (*contradictores*) bore a heavy price for their pride: ten monks, the prior, and Abbot Theulph were struck dead by sickness. At this, Josselin 'truthfully affirmed' that Gregory was indeed present at Saint-Médard. The remaining monks of Saint-Crépin, stupefied and humbled, proclaimed the day a sempiternal memorial to their sin.[35]

Here the *Miracula* presented its readers and hearers with a formidable series of validations of Gregory's saintly virtue, sealed with Josselin's approval. Not only was this the first evidence of ecclesiastical validation of Saint-Médard's assertion that it possessed Gregory's relics, but it came from the mouth of a bishop who was active in supporting the episcopal cults of Saint-Crépin as well. The *Miracula* suggest that further validation came in the form of Gregory's association with the monastery of Notre-Dame during Rogations. When the Pope was ushered into the nunnery church, Mary was beseeched that she should show herself to be a 'governess to her son'.[36] This detail is important because by the time the *san-médardian* text was composed, Mary's presence and miracle-working at Notre-Dame had already long been recognized. She was portrayed as commemorating Gregory's own *praesentia* and the saints' communion with the people of Soissons.

Josselin appears at the very centre of Gregory's terrestrial *societas*, as his most vocal advocate. He is not the object of instruction; he does not doubt Gregory's real presence. The Bishop serves rather as the agent of instruction for the monks of Saint-Crépin and other real and potential sceptics of Saint-Médard's claim, including future successors to his see. In the final chapter, the *Miracula* emphasize Josselin's learnedness and reason, his verbal ability and wisdom — all active qualities of episcopal administration and authority, all emphasized by the sainted Pope in his own *Pastoral Rule* for bishops.[37] These attributes anchor his credibility as a witness to Gregory's miracles, made obvious through numerous signs. To see but to doubt one's eyes, as the Saint-Crépin community did, was the 'error of the unfaithful'. In concluding his case, the monk of Saint-Médard even

[35] See *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 941, for these details.

[36] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 940.

[37] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 941. See also Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis*, ed. by Bruno Judic and others, Sources Chrétiennes, 381–82 (Paris: Editions du CERF, 1992), 1.1, 1.5, 2.4.

claims to take his words asserting Gregory's authenticity directly from the Bishop's mouth, *ut verbis ejus utar*.[38]

Given that the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* positions Josselin so prominently within the text as an educator of others, it is hard to believe that the Bishop would not have consented to, or directly encouraged, this portrayal.[39] Josselin could freely promote the Pope's powers, moreover, because unlike Saint-Crépin's saints and Mary at Notre-Dame, Gregory acted primarily as a defender of the town rather than a healer of the afflicted. Disease fled from his presence, but the sick did not seek him out in numbers sufficient enough to inspire the creation of a *schedula* of miracles such as Hugh Farsit recorded about Mary. Moreover, from Josselin's perspective, Gregory and the saints of Saint-Crépin could be endorsed complementarily. It is to Saint-Crépin's own considerable efforts in the production of episcopal hagiography that we now turn.

Educating by Deed and Word: Saint-Crépin and the Bishop-Saints of Soissons

Josselin's prominent place in Gregory's *san-médardian* miracles was undoubtedly intended as a response to Saint-Crépin's own, not negligible, efforts to incorporate the Bishop into their own patronal network. The scriptorium at Saint-Crépin was the busiest in the city in the years following the second onset of ergotism in 1136/37. From it issued (at minimum) three *vitae*, all devoted to bishop-saints. Two of the lives celebrated bishops of Merovingian Soissons — the *Vita sancti Ansarici episcopi Suessionensis* and the *Vita sancti Bandaridi episcopi Suessionensis* — while the third, the *Vita sancti Godefridi episcopi Ambianensis*, celebrated the virtues of a contemporary prelate. The *Life of Godfrey, Bishop of Amiens* is the only one for which an author has been identified. Nicholas, a monk of Saint-Crépin, composed the text during the years 1137 and 1138. He presents a lengthy and important account of his subject, who was both a native

[38] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 941.

[39] Even were we to accept that the text was composed after Josselin's death in the interval between 1152 and 1158, as it has been dated by Defente (see Appendix B), it stretches credibility to think that the author would grossly distort the Bishop's actual deeds, given that local memory of Josselin's role would have remained fresh at least two generations after his death. In any event, the *Miracula*'s author had himself witnessed the events of 1128–37, so even assuming a lag of three decades before the text's composition, the Bishop would have been dead but ten years.

of the *soissonnais* and entombed at Saint-Crépin.[40] Godfrey (*c.* 1065–1115) was also the uncle of Rohard, the dean and chancellor of Soissons cathedral until around 1139, and it was to Rohard that Nicholas dedicated his work. Nicholas's *vita* of Godfrey fully embraces the ethos and concerns of the twelfth-century apostolic life prominent in hagiographical texts of contemporary holy men and women, especially those written by monks. While he was not overly concerned to present miraculous events associated with Godfrey, Nicholas had much to say about the prelate's other virtues, notably his humility, chastity, charity to the poor and lepers, devotion to preaching, and attention to the liturgy. Godfrey is, in short, a model bishop, as portrayed in the mode of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule*.[41]

The remaining two anonymously written saints' lives differ from that of Nicholas. Dedicated to celebrating the virtues of the local Merovingian bishop-saints Bandaridus (d. post-557) and Ansaricus (d. *c.* 637), they were probably intended to revivify the liturgical and cultic life of those saints and are datable to the middle years of Josselin's episcopacy.[42] The texts share a number of discernible features: they are written in an unadorned style, they largely eschew rhetorical flourishes and lengthy preambles, and they offer only modest biographical

[40] See Nicholas Huyghebaert, 'Geoffroy, évêque d'Amiens', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. XX, fasc. 115–16 (Paris: Letouzet et Ané, 1984), cols 528–29, and Albert Poncelet's excellent introduction in the *AASS* to the *Vita sancti Godefridi*, pp. 889–904.

[41] Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 2.2, p. 918; 2.3–5, pp. 919–20; 2.7, p. 920; 2.8, p. 920; 2.29, p. 925; 3.3, p. 929; 3.12, p. 933, and elsewhere. See also van 't Spijker, *Als door een speciaal stempel*, 81–87, which calls attention to the influence of the *Vita sancti Martini* on Nicholas's work. Of course, contemporary Cistercian *vitae* of bishop-saints also stressed the element of monastic retreat and association, and all the examples from those orders featured bishops who, like Godfrey, had been promoted from monastic ranks; on the white monks, consult Martha Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). For Gregory the Great's influence on the medieval episcopacy, see Heinz Hürten, 'Gregor der Grosse und der mittelalterliche Episkopat', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 73 (1962), 16–41.

[42] *Vita sancti Ansarici episcopi confessoris*, *AASS* September (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), II, 1.1, 545. I have compared the printed version of the vita to the copy made in the late sixteenth century by Nicholas Belfort from the cathedral archives of Soissons, now at Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, MS 177, fols 365–67; a fifteenth-century fragment is at Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. regiae Sueciae 980. I have offered a dating and provenance for the texts in my dissertation, 'Guardians Upon the Walls of this Terrestrial Jerusalem: Bishops, Episcopal Authority, and Community in Northern France, ca 1070–1150' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1999), pp. 226–33.

information about their subjects. Moreover, both reflect episcopal collaboration, even a guiding oversight. Ansaricus himself lay entombed in the cathedral, and the author of the *Vita sancti Ansarici* cites documents which the Bishops Ansaricus and Bandaridus deposited in the archives of the cathedral of Saints Marie-et-Gervais to serve as aids for their successors' memory. Copies of the two bishops' *vitae* were included in the legendary assembled by Josselin and given to the cathedral.[43]

From the biographies of saints Ansaricus, Bandaridus, and Godfrey one may sift out numerous strands of an ideology of episcopal authority; it is on their portrayal of bishops as sure guides in the face of natural disaster, as reverent towards monks and closely bound to monastic life, and as the mediators and judges of the urban classes that I will focus here, and this for two reasons: because these themes occupy central positions in each of the three texts, and because disease, competition between monastic houses, and urban unrest defined the first decade of Josselin's episcopate.

Historically, bishops were portrayed as defenders against illness and ecological calamity, so it is not unusual that the saintly Bishops of Soissons should also appear in this role.[44] But the Soissons hagiographies especially emphasize the bishop's moral authority as an aspect of the defeat of disease. Ansaricus followed Gregory the Great's lead in fending off an inguinal plague from Soissons in the late sixth century, thanks to the intervention of saints Crispin and Crispinian.[45] The author of the *Vita sancti Ansarici* retells Gregory of Tours's familiar story about how Pope Gregory drove sickness out of Rome in 590. He changes a number of important details, however, about the reasons for the plague's onset. He writes that the Tiber River flooded its banks because 'the Romans had not

[43] *Vita sancti Ansarici*, 2.13, p. 548. The diplomas in question are described in an anachronistic passage that explains how Ansaricus solicited confirmation of Saint-Médard's ecclesiastical privilege of exemption from the pope; for the legendary, see BN, f. nouv. acq. lat. 950, fol. 1^{v}.

[44] The biblical model is the priest Aaron, who turns the wrathful plague of God away from the Israelites in Numbers 16. 41–49. Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 10. 1; Peregrine Horden, 'Disease, Dragons and Saints: The Management of Epidemics in the Dark Ages', in *Epidemics and Ideas*, ed. by Terence Ranger and Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 45–76.

[45] The passage in the *vita* derives from the *Liber vitae Patrum*, English trans. by Edward James, *Life of the Fathers*, 2nd edn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), pp. 110–11. See also pp. 39–40. Elements of the life of Ansaricus are borrowed from Gregory's *vitae* of Nicetius of Trier and Gallus of Clermont.

lived piously during Lent, and had irreverently received the Body of Christ on Easter, carrying on afterwards with games, indulgences, and luxuries while the Eucharist was still in their mouths'.[46]

In Gregory of Tours's original account the flood did not result from the Romans' disrespectful Lenten behaviour, but was brought on by early autumnal rains. The transformation of the episode's moral tone in the *Vita sancti Ansarici*, therefore, needs explanation. The focal point of the *vita* is the people's inappropriate Lenten revelry, which ignored traditional prescriptions against excess and consumption of certain foods, as well as the Lenten cycle of penitential exclusion and eventual reintegration on the Lord's Feast (Holy Thursday).[47] With the meaning of the Eucharist as the figural and literal representation of Jesus's sacrifice apparently lost on the people of Rome, Gregory steps in and returns the populace to an appropriately humbled mood. Once the penitential processions were completed, the plague subsided.[48] Ansaricus then acts in the spirit of Gregory: the Bishop of Soissons brought out Saint-Crépin's relics and asked God's mercy day and night that he not see the people entrusted to him devastated by the plague.[49] The city was spared, thanks to Ansaricus and saints Crispin and Crispinian.

The emphasis in the *Vita sancti Ansarici* on the Lenten revelry, accompanied by its focus on the Bishop's traditional role as intercessor for his community, suggests that its author wished to underscore the Bishop's place as Christ's successor. That is, he equates disregard of Jesus's sacrifice at Rome centuries earlier with contemporary ignorance of Ansaricus's own deeds locally:

[46] 'In Quadragesima Romani non sancte vixissent, et Christi Corpus in Paschate irreverenter suscepissent, ac postmodum ludis, commessationibus, et luxuriae vacarent, dum adhuc escae essent in ore ipsorum': *Vita sancti Ansarici*, 2.8, p. 547. It is worth noting that the people of Amiens also disobeyed their Bishop Godfrey's Lenten mandate that they abstain from meat; *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 3.12, pp. 933–35.

[47] One may consult with profit the summary of O. B. Hardison, Jr, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), esp. chapter 3.

[48] *Vita sancti Ansarici*, 2.9, p. 547.

[49] *Vita sancti Ansarici*, 2.10, p. 547. The sentence, paraphrased here, is taken from the *Vita Patrum* of Gregory of Tours, specifically his life of Gallus, Bishop of Clermont; *Life of the Fathers*, pp. 39–40. On the eschatological significance of this episode within the narrative context of Gregory of Tours's *Histories*, see Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*, trans. by Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 80–81.

> we ought to implore his help that much more urgently, the more frequently we are troubled by misfortunes: so that just as he defended the people from the inguinary plague, so might he deign to protect us and them in other diverse matters.[50]

It is the people's lack of humility and proper penitential aspect — made more appalling by the Bishop's steadfast resolve in the face of natural disaster — that the author reprimands.

The tale of Ansaricus and the plague resonated with contemporary events in Soissons. As we saw earlier, the second bout of holy fire led to a dispute between the monks of Saint-Crépin and the monks of Saint-Médard over whose relics should claim precedence in the expiatory processions. This inter-monastic competition provides a convincing motive for the twelfth-century composition of a new *Vita sancti Ansarici*. Its depiction of Ansaricus's reliance upon Crispin and Crispinian when disease threatened Soissons in the late sixth century countered Saint-Médard's claim that its own relics were the more efficacious. In Ansaricus, Saint-Crépin extolled a saint who was, in effect, their (and Soissons's) answer to Gregory. The anonymous author asked: if the holy Ansaricus had relied on Crispin and Crispinian to defend the town from plague, should not his successor Josselin and the people of Soissons do so as well? It would seem Josselin took the message to heart, translating the relics of Crispin and Crispinian into a new reliquary on 19 May 1141. According to Claude Dormay's seventeenth-century history of Soissons, the translation took place before a large crowd of witnesses that included the Archbishop of Reims, the Abbots of Saint-Crépin and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Odo, the Abbot of Saint-Rémi of Reims (a former Abbot of Saint-Crépin), the Count of Soissons, along with the mayor, *jurés*, people of the commune, and the government of the town.[51] Two faces were notably missing: the Abbot of Saint-Médard and the Abbess of Notre-Dame.

The model of priestly conduct in the face of natural disaster found in the *Vita sancti Ansarici* is complemented by the life of Bandaridus. Early in the *vita*,

[50] 'Ejus auxilium tanto instantius implorare debemus, quanto crebrius infortuniis quatimur: ut sicut plebem defendit ab inguinaria peste, sic nos et ipsam dignetur in diversis protegere': *Vita sancti Ansarici*, 2.10, p. 547.

[51] Dormay uses the unpublished history of Jean Hélie, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 18776, fols 133–36, and fonds français 18777, fols 189–90. Hélie states that the original *procès-verbal* of the translation was kept in the reliquary of Bandaridus at the time he was writing. His statement cannot be independently confirmed, but all the witnesses mentioned could have been present. Dormay, *Histoire de la ville de Soissons*, II, 114–17; Jacquemin, 'Annales', no. 131, pp. 80–81.

Bandaridus is forced into exile 'without episcopal judgment, through the tyranny of laymen' by King Clothar — Saint-Médard's founder, described here as an enemy of justice — for failing to show him proper fealty or for not having lavished gifts upon him.[52] Fleeing to England and living there anonymously as a monk for seven years, Bandaridus eventually became a renowned apothecary and healer. During his absence, a great 'sterility of the earth and an imbalance of pestiferous air' beset the diocese of Soissons.[53] The people implored the King to recall the Bishop from exile and lamented that, if he did not do so, they were doomed to death: 'For this pestilence will not recede from us until Bandaridus, God's elect, is recalled to his see.'[54] The Bishop's subsequent deliverance of his diocese from plague and famine forms the narrative centrepiece of the *vita*.[55]

Although Bandaridus was forced from his see by Clothar, the people had been tacitly complicitous in the King's decision.[56] As he made his way back to the borders of his diocese, a crowd now flocked to him and made clamour 'after the custom of Israelites'. Relief soon followed: Bandaridus prostrated himself in prayer with the people, 'like Moses and Aaron praying with their servants', and fixed his staff in the ground. When he withdrew it, a fountain of water immediately bubbled up from the hole.[57] The people, rejoicing, proclaimed the Bishop equal in virtue and merit to Moses himself, and with his return tranquillity returned to the *pagus* of Soissons.[58]

The episode's significance lies in its representation of the popular rejection of episcopal, and hence divine, authority. Like Moses, Bandaridus carries a staff that signifies his pastoral and judicial fiat; like Moses he bears with equanimity the rejection of his people and anger of the monarch, only to later intercede on their

[52] 'Absque ullo episcopali judicio per laicorum tyrannidem': *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, *AASS* August (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1867), III, 1.7, 64. See also Kaiser, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 228–29.

[53] 'Terrae sterilitas, et pestiferi inaequalitas aëris': *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 1.10, p. 64.

[54] 'Non enim a nobis haec pestilentia recedet: nisi revocatus fuerit ad sedem suam electus Dei Bandaridus': *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 1.11, p. 65.

[55] *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 2.18, p. 66.

[56] *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 1.4, 10–11, pp. 63–65.

[57] 'More Israëlitici', 'et sicut Moyse et Aaron servis suis orantibus': *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 2.17–18, cols 66–67. Exodus 17. 1–7.

[58] *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 2.18–19, p. 67. Ansaricus, too, miraculously drew forth water from barren ground, although under different circumstances and without allusion to the wilderness and struggles for authority of Exodus; miraculous water is also a theme of the unedited *Vita sancti Edibii episcopi Suessionensis*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8969–71, fols 67ᵛ–69ᵛ.

behalf.[59] The Bishop's actions are not intended merely to allude to Moses or to comparable models of authoritative conduct. Rather, the author wishes to demonstrate how each figure shares in the same divinely ordained authority, how each bears the rebuke of that mandate by his flock. The imagery from Exodus forms part of the narrative fabric of Bandaridus's life, making the Bishop of Soissons a participant in the grace of Moses.[60] For many twelfth-century writers, moreover, it was the very quality of *auctoritas* that Moses especially embodied. Bernard of Clairvaux, in a contemporary treatise addressed to Pope Eugenius III, would declare to the pontiff: 'in primacy, you are Abel; in governing, Noah; in patriarchate, Abraham; in order, Melchisedech; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses'.[61]

Mosaic authority may have defined Bandaridus, yet it was an authority coupled with obedience — obedience to monks. In exile, Bandaridus was received incognito into a monastery where he served the poor and sick as an apothecary for seven years.[62] When the Bishop was discovered by the King's messengers and begged to return, he demurred, protesting that, 'I am not under my own will, but am entirely bound in all things to the commands of another, whence it is not permitted to me to do whatever I want or go where I will without the permission of the abbot of this place'.[63] The King's men quickly revealed Bandaridus's identity to the abbot, who chastised the saint for his deception. The saint replied that he had not sought to act against any authority, but had joined the monastery with a pure conscience in order to serve others. In a dramatic act of self-humiliation, the abbot then prostrated himself before Bandaridus's feet and begged forgiveness for his negligence. Even after the abbot's supplication, the Bishop still refused to leave the monastery without his blessing.[64]

[59] On some possible meanings of the episcopal staff to a twelfth-century author, see now Timothy Reuter, '*Pastorale pedum ante apostolici posuit*: Dis- and Reinvestiture in the Era of the Investiture Contest', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 197–210 (p. 205), with further references.

[60] For this observation I am indebted to Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 113–122, esp. p. 114 n. 71 and p. 117.

[61] Cited in Robert Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 69 and n. 17.

[62] *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 1.8–9, p. 64.

[63] 'Non sum mei juris, sed omnino mancipatus sum alterius ditioni: unde mihi licitum non est quidquam facere vel quoquam pergere, absque abbatis hujus loci permissione': *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 2.14, p. 65.

[64] *Vita sancti Bandaridi*, 2.15–16, p. 66.

The same patina of episcopal reverence for monks informs Nicholas of Saint-Crépin's *Vita sancti Godefridi episcopi Ambianensis*. Not only was Godfrey a child oblate at Saint-Quentin of Péronne and later Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, but he also continued to live with monkish virtue while Bishop of Amiens.[65] Echoing themes found in Carthusian and Cistercian hagiography from the same period, Nicholas lingers over Godfrey's monastic comportment and later retreat from his bishopric and entrance at La Grande Chartreuse. Revelling in his newfound isolation among the community of Carthusian monks, there Godfrey 'delighted in the purity of the undisturbed soul'.[66] As a Benedictine monk, Godfrey had already impressed the secular clergy with his erudition and wisdom. On one occasion, Josselin's predecessor Hugh of Pierrefonds (r. 1093–1103) called upon the holy man for counsel in the face of a withering drought.[67] Following the 'custom of the Ninevites', Godfrey immediately ordered penitential fasts. On the appointed day, all the people of Soissons convened with the relics of their saints at the parish church of Stephen the Protomartyr to listen to Hugh's sermon.[68] Godfrey was in attendance; as the Bishop proceeded with the sermon, storm clouds opened and released a drought-quenching rain.

[65] For a concise resumé, see Laurent Morelle, 'Un "grégorien" au miroir de ses chartes: Geoffroy, évêque d'Amiens (1104–1115)', in *À propos des actes d'évêques: Hommage à Lucie Fossier*, ed. by Michel Parisse (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1991), pp. 180–85.

[66] 'Imperturbati animi puritate frueretur': *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 3.8, p. 931; see also 2.4, p. 919, and 2.32, p. 927. On Cistercian attitudes towards prelates, see Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, 148–70. On the Carthusian strand to the *vita* of Godfrey, not only does Godfrey spend part of his exile among the monks of La Chartreuse, his retreat for the sake of contemplation is a common refrain in the *vitae* of Carthusian bishops, not least Hugh of Grenoble, whose own *vita* was composed a few years before Nicholas began writing. On Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, and other Carthusian bishops, see Alexander Murray, 'The Temptation of St Hugh of Grenoble', in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 81–101; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians and their Contemporary World: The Evidence of Twelfth-Century Bishops' Vitae' and 'Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and Bishop', both in *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th–12th Centuries* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1999), chs 16 and 17, respectively.

[67] The drought apparently occurred in 1097. *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 1.25, pp. 914–15 and n. 1.

[68] 'More Ninivitarum': *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 2.25, p. 915. The choice of the parish church of Saint-Etienne seems somewhat odd, although Nicholas explains it was the logical place for the sermon given its large size. It is possible, however, that Nicholas is assimilating the 1097 drought to Gregory the Great's command in 590 that the order of laypeople should process from the church of St Stephen in Rome to the basilica of Mary in the same town. The mandatory fast also recalls Gregory's actions; *Historia Francorum*, 10.1, p. 408.

Finally, the sacred biographies produced at Saint-Crépin in the second quarter of the twelfth century conveyed the abbey's growing concern with the political and economic power of Soissons's populace. A descriptive passage from the *Vita sancti Ansarici* details a dispute over the proper measurement of wine between the citizens and *proceres*, or lay magnates, of the town.[69] The controversy and its outcome are worth reporting in full:

> when [Ansaricus] observed an intensely dangerous dispute over the measure of wine among certain *proceres* and citizens of the town, which had not yet been settled at that time, he called together the clergy along with the *proceres* and people. Disposing them with supportive words, now to observe the peace, now reminding them about the love of the celestial kingdom, he did not cease brandishing words inspired by divine love, until, piercing the spirit with the sword, each and every one of them submitted to his compromise. For that reason, he immediately ordered a copper measure to be divided, today called a half-measure, which was pleasing and agreeable to everyone, and thus soothed their hardened spirits [. . .] Indeed that same measuring rod, which is to the present kept with the relics of the saints in the cathedral of Soissons, and is kissed by the people with pious devotion, stands as a testament to the conciliation of dissension in the preceding case.[70]

Details from this passage resonate not only with events in Soissons in the early twelfth century, but with broader themes of Saint-Crépin's own understanding of the episcopacy. This 'half-measure', for example, appears in another local text, a papal pancarte for Saint-Crépin.[71] The dispute over wine-measures between the citizens and lay dignitaries of Soissons corresponds in its basic outline, as a fight over goods and services, to similar quarrels between the Bishop's men and the townspeople that resulted in 1136 in Josselin bringing a judicial process against

[69] *Proceres* could collectively indicate the secular dignitaries attached to a bishopric, although there is no way of determining which social group the author had in mind.

[70] 'Cum videret super mensuris vini inter aliquos proceres et cives urbis periculosam valde contentionem, quae ad ea usque tempora necdum sedari potuerat; convocavit clerum cum proceribus et populo. Quos verbis ignitis informans, nunc de pace observanda, nunc de regni caelestis amore commonens, non desinebat verba divinum amorem spirantia vibrare, donec, gladio spiritus penetrante, sese omnes ejus dispositioni submiserunt. Quamobrem ille statim mensuram cupream sculpi jubet, dimidium sextarium hodie appellatam, quae conveniens omnibus et grata, duratos eorum animos mitigavit [. . .] Ea vero mensura nunc usque servatur in Suessionensi ecclesia cum sanctorum reliquiis, et pia devotione a populo exosculatur, quod praemissae dissensionis conciliandae causa et foedus extiterit': *Vita sancti Ansarici*, 1.7, pp. 546–47.

[71] Cartulary of Saint-Crépin, Archives Départementales, Aisne H 455, fols 4^{r}–7^{r} (1154 charter of Pope Adrian IV): 'dimidiam sextarium olei' ('a half measure of oil').

the commune. Ansaricus's mediation achieved an extra-judicial resolution to the quarrel, while his paternal reminder to observe the peace went straight to the legislative heart of the commune's own socio-political constitution as an institution predicated on maintaining the peace.[72] Finally — and in terms of Saint-Crépin's rivalry with Saint-Médard, most importantly — the text historicized the ongoing custom of kissing Ansaricus's *baculum*, his staff, which reposed in the cathedral under episcopal auspices. The *Vita sancti Ansarici* therefore provided precedence for a local tradition that sanctified the Bishop's role as a mediator and judge of his flock in spiritual as well as commercial matters, a role of no small importance in an age and place where communal and, increasingly, guild power were on the rise.[73] For the monks of Saint-Crépin the ritual embrace of the episcopal staff likewise established an important counterpoint to a custom apparently already underway at Saint-Médard, namely the practice among the people of the diocese of coming to the monastery to kiss the liturgical cup of Gregory on his feast day.[74]

Nicholas of Saint-Crépin's *Vita sancti Godefridi episcopi Ambianensis* similarly treats at length, though not always in satisfying detail, Godfrey's difficult relationship with the townspeople of Amiens. While the text frequently presents moments in which the townspeople were either unanimously united behind their bishop or collectively deaf and blind to his authority, Nicholas singles out members of the city's commercial classes for choice criticism. I will mention only one episode among several here.[75] Towards the middle of Godfrey's pontificate, prob

[72] On the 1136 conflict, see below. On communal interests in maintaining the peace at Soissons and elsewhere there is a large body of literature, but see in the first place Albert Vermeesch, *Essai sur les origines et la signification de la commune dans le nord de la France (XI^e et XII^e siècles)* (Heule: UGA, 1966). See also the recent comments of Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Peace through Conspiracy', in *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, ed. by Bernhard Jussen, trans. by Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 285–322 (pp. 296–304).

[73] Organized guilds or fraternities of cobblers, leatherworkers, cloth-makers, parmenters, corderers, and shipbuilders all existed in Soissons no later than the 1140s; Dietrich Lohrmann, 'Pseudo-Theuderich und die Schuster von Soissons', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 52.2 (1996), 399–422 (pp. 408–11, 415).

[74] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 940. The *Vita sancti Ansarici*, p. 546, similarly relates that, at Ansaricus's elevation of Sts Crispin and Crispinian, he reserved Crispin's head apart from the martyrs' bodies to be venerated by the people of Soissons *in archivis ecclesiae*.

[75] Among other examples, the merchants and traders at the fairs were among those who

ably in the year 1106, Amiens was badly damaged by an enormous fire. Godfrey had been forewarned: having fallen into an ecstatic state while praying on behalf of his flock, he witnessed a vision of the city's destruction by an infernal army of horsemen and soldiers. Saint Firmin, the martyr and episcopal founder of the see at Amiens, then appeared and told Godfrey that the sins of his people had roused divine wrath. Hoping to avert disaster by urging the townspeople to repent, Godfrey delivered a sermon the following Sunday alerting them to his vision.[76] In it he singled out those 'lovers of this world and followers of filthy profit' who stood to reap the fruits of destruction for their love of earthly things. To neglect his words, Godfrey continued, the people would bring upon themselves 'the horrible destruction of Dathan and Abiron'.[77]

This evocation of these notorious Old Testament rebels, whose contestation of Moses's authority led to their immediate obliteration by God, stood metaphorically for the layman's challenge to priestly authority.[78] Like Dathan and Abiron — who petulantly questioned Moses, 'Must you also set yourself up as a prince over us?' — the people of Amiens ignored their priest's commands. The town was torched by a wildfire that consumed every structure but the cathedral, episcopal house, and certain dwellings of the poor. The implication, of course, is that the homes of the wealthy bore the brunt of the damage. This example of the Bishop's prophetic power stayed with the humbled populace, and after the fire 'mothers taught their children that Godfrey was filled with the gift of prophecy'.[79]

The rich hagiographical production of Saint-Crépin in the second quarter of the twelfth century thus tended to concentrate the focus of imagery with considerable force around several themes, namely, the bishop as defender against natural disaster, as a patron and servant of the monastic order, and as mediator,

failed to attend one of Godfrey's elevations of St Firmin's relics, in 1107; *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 2.26, p. 925; see also 3.36, p. 943.

[76] *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 3.20–21, pp. 938–39.

[77] 'Ipso Dathan et Abiron horrendo excidio': *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 3.21, p. 939.

[78] The episode appears in Numbers 15. 25–30. It was biblically linked with the series of revolts against Mosaic authority that culminated in Moses drawing water from the rock, an episode that we have seen was melded into the narrative of the *Vita sancti Bandaridi*; see also Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 65–68.

[79] 'Matresque docent liberos Godefridum satis refertum flamine prophetico': *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 3.23, p. 940.

peacemaker, and authority in the Mosaic tradition. Collectively, Ansaricus, Bandaridus, and Godfrey emerge as orator-prophets who endure exile, the rebellion of their own people, and natural disaster, only to rescue their flocks from total loss.[80]

Embedded within this moral and ethical *cursus* of instruction was, as we have seen, a series of *synkrises* which displayed God's ongoing, creative presence in the works of the bishop-saints of Soissons and their successors. The cumulative intent of this instruction for Josselin is straightforward: God had worked through his saintly predecessors, and if he emulates their acts of devotion to Saint-Crépin's patrons, their leadership in times of natural calamity, and their intercession before the townspeople, God is certain to work in him. The *vitae* penned at Saint-Crépin verified the monks' claims to the historical patronage of Soissons's bishop-saints — and so to the continuing patronage of Josselin — cementing links to the episcopal see also being cultivated by Saint-Médard, and countering Notre-Dame's own divine favour, apparent in the successful cult of Mary's sacred slipper.[81] Episcopal acknowledgement of the see's close links to Saint-Crépin came in various ways. Josselin conceded, witnessed, or confirmed at least eight charters on Saint-Crépin's behalf between 1129 and 1146.[82] On one

[80] In Godfrey's case this would be his return from self-imposed exile at La Chartreuse to lead the townspeople against the divisive forces of the count and his castellan, besieged by Louis VI's army in Amiens in 1115. For this episode readers may want to consult my article, 'Urban Space, Memory, and Episcopal Authority: The Bishops of Amiens in Peace and Conflict, 1073–1164', *Viator*, 31 (2000), 43–77.

[81] On hagiography as a generative force behind clerical and lay patronage networks, see Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 104–05, 120–21.

[82] Archives Départementales, Aisne H 455 (Cartulary of Saint-Crépin), fols 35^{r}–36^{r} (2 March 1129); fols 346^{r}–348^{r} (1135); fol. 348^{r-v} (1139, before August 1); fols 36^{r}–38^{r} (1143, after October 18); fols 292^{r}–293^{v} (1146); fols 293^{v}–295^{r} (1146, after April 1). Notices of these charters appear in Jacquemin, 'Annales', no. 20, p. 17; no. 70, pp. 45–46; no. 103, p. 64; no. 155, pp. 93–94; and nos. 188–89, pp. 109–10. Jacquemin includes two other acts not listed in the abbey cartulary: mention of a royal diploma granted the monastery by Louis VI supposedly in 1132 (no. 48, pp. 31–32), and Josselin's consecration of several altars at Saint-Crépin in 1133 (no. 52, p. 34). The royal diploma is uncertain at best; see *Recueil des actes de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. by Jean Dufour, 4 vols (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, 1992), III, 3, n. 3. Jacquemin's notice of the consecrations is an error based on a misprint in *Gallia Christiana*, X, col. 357; the altars Josselin consecrated were in fact at Saint-Médard, for which see *Chronicon sancti Medardi Suessionensis ab anno CCCCXCVII ad MCCLXIX*, in *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, ed. by Luc d'Achery, 3 vols (Paris: Montalant, 1723), II, 489. For texts of the charters Josselin witnessed in 1146, and a third forged charter of

occasion he mediated a contentious and lengthy dispute between the abbey, its Abbot Theulph, and the heirs of one Aloud of Soissons (1126–29).[83] The Bishop also translated Godfrey's relics to the major altar of Saint-Crépin in April 1138. The Abbot of Saint-Médard failed to attend the ceremony, just as he would be absent at Josselin's translation of Crispin and Crispinian three years later.[84]

Episcopal Authority and Social Change: The Consolation and Power of Hagiographical Models

Given that the production of hagiography in early twelfth-century Soissons was either in part or wholly a collaborative process, it would be appropriate to conclude this essay with a brief consideration of how Josselin may have benefited ideologically from this hagiographical *instructio*.[85] There is no question that he was alert to the historic actions of Soissons's bishops. We must suspect that Josselin wished to highlight the likeness of his own actions to those of his saintly predecessors, and ultimately to their models, specifically Moses and Gregory, both exemplars of pastoral governance. He did so with monastic encouragement — in the competitive atmosphere of local monastic cults, Josselin could comfortably play all sides. Moreover, although touched on only lightly here, the cathedral's own cults, especially its relics of Ansaricus, stood to gain from episcopal relations with local monasteries, particularly Saint-Crépin.

No less importantly, the *vitae* from Saint-Crépin provided a reasonably coherent and consistent representation of episcopal authority, a literary vehicle with direct utility for Josselin's administration of his see. The Mosaic emphasis in the *vitae* on the reproving and amelioration of rebellious and contentious followers could be presented, in the first instance, to the commune of Soissons, whose influence was growing and with which the Bishop had an uneasy relationship.

1146/47, see W. M. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII^e–XIII^e siècle): Leurs chartes et leur histoire*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1971), II, nos 15–17, 44–50.

[83] The outcome was favorable to the abbey. Newman, 'L'acte de Téulfe', pp. 170, 174–75, and Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, I, 114, n. 5. Newman considers this charter authentic, despite some diplomatic inconsistencies and anachronisms.

[84] *Vita sancti Godefridi*, 3.42, p. 944.

[85] There are additional reasons to consider ideology formation a public act, and one increasingly likely to be found when political stability weakens, if we adopt Clifford Geertz's formulations; see his 'Ideology as a Cultural System', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 193–233, esp. pp. 208–20.

Even though it had been peacefully established in late 1115 or 1116, the commune provided an alternative institutional and judicial authority to the Bishop's.[86] Episcopal privilege was largely excluded from the statutes of the Soissons charter, and the Bishop was bound by its articles to adhere to certain standards of conduct vis-à-vis the commune's members. Moreover, the commune's first recorded encroachment against episcopal privilege occurred in 1136, shortly before the *Vita sancti Ansarici* and *Vita sancti Godefridi* (and probably the *Vita sancti Bandaridi*) were most probably composed. Sometime between August 3 and October 24, Josselin travelled to Louis VI's court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye to bring a complaint against the commune for its infringements of his privileges, those of the cathedral, those of other churches committed to his care, and those of the free men of the town. The King decided in Josselin's favour, a leader of the commune was exiled, and the entire town swore an oath to observe the statutes of their foundation charter before the King's representative.[87]

The growth of communal power and commercial associations was also of special interest to Saint-Crépin and Saint-Médard, as both institutions grappled with demands from urban and rural labourers and crafts organizations. The expansion of communal liberties in the *soissonnais* corresponded to a period when the two monasteries were attempting to regulate the movement of their own serfs and the collection of rents and goods, in order to better control a mobile populace motivated to win further freedoms.[88] Conflicts between these nascent

[86] Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons*, pp. 79–83, considers the 'probable' date of the commune's foundation to be 1116. He is followed by *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, ed. by Dufour, II, 28–29, who nevertheless leaves the exact date of its foundation open to 1115–24. Bourgin bases his conclusion in part on a supposed date of 1116 for the death of Count Jean I of Soissons. Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. by Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981), 3.16, pp. 426–28, writing before November 1115, clearly states that the Count had already died; see also the comments of John F. Benton, ed., *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 211, n. 8 and p. 237; and Edmond-René Labande's preface to Guibert's *Autobiographie*, pp. xv–xvi. Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, I, 60, similarly demonstrates that the Count died at the latest in 1115, and the Soissons cathedral obituary dates it precisely to September 24. Guibert does not mention the commune's foundation in his memoirs — an event which, given his implacable dislike for the institution, surely would not have escaped his notice. Thus, the commune must have been founded after November 1115, and probably no later than 1116.

[87] The most recent published editions of this charter are found in *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, II, 297–300, no. 380, and *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*, ed. B. Diestelkamp, and others, 3 vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–96), II (1988), nos 30, 85–86.

[88] *Saint-Médard*, comp. by Defente, pp. 131–32.

institutions and the monastic houses multiplied. In the year 1148, the *Chronicon sancti Medardi Suessionensis* recorded that the commune had extended its walls to the east bank of the Aisne, into Saint-Médard's jurisdictional territory, only to have Louis VII demolish them.[89] Indeed, Soissons's monasteries would emerge as the commune's chief adversaries in the second half of the twelfth century. Communal disputes with the abbeys of Saint-Léger between 1179 and 1202, Saint-Médard in 1181 and 1185, Notre-Dame in 1190, and Notre-Dame's priory of Saint-Pierre-au-Parvis in 1192 prompted royal, papal, and episcopal intervention on various occasions.[90]

Josselin's response to the institutional transformations of urban and rural communities in his diocese was cool rather than conciliatory. Confirmation of this may be found on the basis of his response to events in the neighbouring diocese of Reims. On two occasions he mediated disputes in the archdiocese between urban communities and their ecclesiastical lords. In late 1126 or 1127, Josselin and Bernard of Clairvaux negotiated a peace between the people of Reims and their new Archbishop, Renaud II.[91] Josselin became further involved in the affairs of the archiepiscopal see during and after a long vacancy there in 1139–40. He helped to elect and then consecrated the new archbishop in 1140, following Louis VII's suppression of a violent communal uprising.[92] Two years later, Josselin witnessed one of the Archbishop's charters for the abbey of Saint-Thierry of Reims, confirming its privileges after their brief usurpation by a rural commune.[93] Taking these incidents together with his earlier complaint against

[89] The extension of the commune's walls beyond the river has occasioned some confusion among historians, myself included. Denis Defente, in *Saint-Médard*, pp. 131 and 140 n. 28, has argued convincingly that the Soissons commune attempted to extend its privileges to the right bank of the Aisne near the monastery ('in riparia').

[90] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Léger*, ed. by Louis Victor Pécheur (Soissons: Imprimerie de Em. Fossé Darcosse, 1870), no. 40, pp. 97–98; *Chronicon sancti Medardi*, p. 489; Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons*, pp. 145–47, pièce justificative no. 19, p. 449; Louis Victor Pécheur, *Annales du diocèse de Soissons*, 10 vols (Soissons: Morel, 1863–95), III (1875), 11–12.

[91] *Opera sancti Bernardi abbatis primi Clarae-Vallis*, ed. by J. Mabillon, 4 vols (Paris: Thomae Moette, 1690), II, 1088–89.

[92] Essential (though incomplete) documentation in *Archives administratives de la ville de Reims: Collection de pièces inédites pouvant servir à l'histoire des institutions dans l'intérieur de la cité*, ed. by Pierre Varin, 5 vols (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1839–48), I (1839), 297–303.

[93] *Archives administratives*, ed. by Varin, pp. 305–06. For the communal association on Saint-Thierry's lands, see Pierre Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois au XIII^ième^ et XIV^ème^ siècles* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1979), pp. 98–99.

the Soissons commune, Josselin appears to have opposed new sworn associations or any extension of their privileges. Although he did not attempt to quash those established before his episcopacy, he steadfastly opposed communal initiatives that threatened episcopal or monastic liberties, whether in his own diocese or at Reims. Indeed, we might consider Josselin's close patronage of suburban monasteries and their holy dead an active counter-move to a changing urban landscape in which sacrality was gradually being attributed to new civic monuments like bell-towers, markets, and town halls. Perhaps Josselin sought to recharge traditional monastic poles of sacred power in response.[94]

Moreover, communes — and this is a point made less often than it should be — could and did act as coercively as other seigniorial authorities to secure their political and economic fortunes. Historians have overstressed the argument that because communes developed at the demand of common people who sought to break free from seigniorial controls, they must have been universally welcomed within the urban community. The Soissons commune regulated its membership closely, forcing everyone living in the town or its suburbs to make a hard decision: swear an oath to uphold its laws or be expelled from their homes. There is no reason to think that its authority was voluntarily accepted by all of the townspeople, and for those who did not wish to submit to its laws for fear of political, social, economic, or religious disadvantage, the commune's foundation must have prompted a profound sense of social dislocation and stress. In this period of socio-political transformation and heightened spiritual devotion, episcopal hagiography and the cultivation of episcopal cults undoubtedly reassured those townsfolk made nervous by the changes — even changes some historians and medieval town-dwellers might consider to be for the better — that the bishop's traditional authority remained efficacious against the uncertainties of natural disaster and institutional innovation. Perhaps some townsfolk would have been put at ease by the examples from the *Vita sancti Godefridi* where the dwellings of the poor and the cathedral were spared from God's wrath at the people's disobedience — or they could hope that, guided by the mediating hand of episcopal patronage, like Ansaricus with his measuring rod, the Bishops of Soissons would continue to ensure justice and concord among their flock.

[94] Following Peter Brown's observations concerning an earlier time and different place: *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981), pp. 8–9.

Conclusion

The production of meaningful models of episcopal authority and conduct in Soissons thus involved a collaborative exchange of ideas from which all parties derived benefit, as one would find within any pedagogical context. Each wished to establish a particular understanding of sacred history and the local politics it subsumed. These histories informed liturgical uses, imparted expectations of pragmatic and moral behaviour, reassured the public of God's timeless providence in the face of disaster, legitimated political and devotional practices (or claims), reasserted the relevance of traditional relationships between the social and ecclesiastical orders, and spurred the veneration of resident saints. As this essay demonstrates — and readers should bear in mind that only a portion of the hagiographical dossier of late eleventh- and twelfth-century Soissons has been considered here — a cacophony of competing voices greeted Josselin when he ascended the episcopal throne. In part because the production of sacred biographies and miracle collections was so numerous, Josselin could pick and choose from a broad range of models and images of episcopal authority as he pleased.

Josselin bequeathed to his successors and the faithful of Soissons a collection of hagiographical works that must be counted among the more impressive bodies of this literature in northern France in the twelfth century. It is perhaps to be expected, given the potentially ephemeral public face of many local saints' cults, that none of the monasteries of Soissons remained major pilgrimage sites much beyond the second quarter of the twelfth century. Notre-Dame periodically received noteworthy visitors that prayed at the crypts of its saints — Thomas Becket, in exile in 1165, was one[95] — but between 1143 and 1147 the nunnery had to take its relics out to meet the faithful on a procession to Liège rather than wait for them to show up at its door.[96] Saint-Médard's production of hagiography and the *miracula* of its saints slowed dramatically after mid-century. And Saint-Crépin, despite its best efforts, could not generate even regional pilgrimage let alone greater interest in its holy dead; Godfrey, the saintly Bishop of Amiens, failed to spark much enthusiasm for his cult even in his former see, to say noth-

[95] Michel Germain, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Soissons de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1675), p. 150.

[96] Pécheur, *Annales du diocèse de Soissons*, III, 305; *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. by Jean Mabillon with Edmund Martène, 6 vols (Lucca, 1739–45), VI (1745), 341.

ing of his adopted one. What did endure at Soissons was a conceptualization of the episcopal office expounded in the pages of the sacred biographies produced during Josselin's rule, biographies that formed part of an ongoing debate about the bishop and his community and whose teachers and students included monks, canons, bishops, and the saints themselves.

Appendix A

Episcopal Hagiography and Collections of miracula *at Soissons, c. 1050–1150*

A. The episcopal *vitae*, their probable authors, and dates of composition [in brackets]:

Anonymous monk of Saint-Crépin (?), *Vita sancti Edibii episcopi Suessionensis* [probably *c.* 1050–1150][97]

Anonymous monk of Saint-Médard (?), *Vita sancti Onesimi episcopi* [late eleventh or early twelfth century][98]

Anonymous nun of Notre-Dame (?), *Vita sancti Drausii episcopi* [late eleventh or early twelfth century]

Hariulf, Abbot of Oldenburg, and Lisiard of Crépy, Bishop of Soissons, *Vita sancti Arnulfi episcopi Suessionensis* [1095–1114, 1121][99]

Anonymous monk of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Bandaridi episcopi Suessionensis* [1128–52, possibly *c.* 1141]

Milo, Bishop of Thérouanne, *Vita sancti Principii Suessionice ciuitatis episcopi* [1130–51][100]

Nicholas of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Godefridi episcopi Ambianensis* [1137–38]

Anonymous monk of Saint-Crépin, *Vita sancti Ansarici episcopi Suessionensis* [*c.* 1138–41]

B. The miracle collections:

Anonymous monk of Saint-Médard, *Relatio translationis omnium sanctorum hic quiescentium* [late eleventh century][101]

[97] The brief life of Bishop Edibius has to my knowledge not been edited. I have consulted the sole manuscript known to me, Brussels, B.R., MS 8969–71, fols 67^{r}–69^{r}, a copy from the collection of local hagiography by Nicholas Belfort, which he had found in 1590 in the cathedral's archives. See François Dolbeau, 'Hagiographie latine et prose rimée: Deux exemples des Vies épiscopales rédigées au XII^{e} siècle', *Sacris Erudiri*, 32 (1991), 223–68.

[98] *Vita sancti Onesimi, AASS* May (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1866), III, 203–05; de Gaiffier, 'Les sources latines', p. 115, n. 4.

[99] Two related versions of Arnulf's life, a *vita brevior* (1114–21) and *vita longior* (1095–1108), exist. See Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*.

[100] The complete edition of Principius's *vita* is that of Dolbeau, 'Hagiographie latine et prose rimée', pp. 249–60; one might also consult (with less profit) *De sancto Principio episcopo, Suessionibus in Gallia*, *AASS* September (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1867), VII, 57.

[101] Included in a compilation in eighty *folia* of various miracles, *vitae*, and orations concerning its patron saints, now Vat. reg. lat. 1864, composed in numerous hands of the eleventh

Anonymous monk of Saint-Médard, *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* I [*c.* 1137–52/58]
Hugh Farsit, canon of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, *De miraculis beatae Mariae Virginis in urbe Suessionensi* [post-1144, perhaps 1145]
Anonymous monk of Saint-Médard, *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* II [*c.* 1158][102]

and twelfth centuries. My thanks to the *section latine* of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, for furnishing me with a copy of the manuscript's contents and *incipits*.

[102] Brussels, B.R., MS 8714–19.

Appendix B

Some Thoughts on Dating the Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani *I*

The date and authorship of the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* I (*BHL* 7546) continue to be discussed, as they have for hundreds of years. Ildephonse Vrayet (d. 1675), a monk of Corbie who sent a manuscript containing the miracle collection to the Bollandists for inclusion in the *Acta sanctorum*, stated the date to be 'around the year 1150'.[103] He offered no explanation for this attribution. Recently, Denis Defente has qualified Vrayet's estimation in arguing for its composition sometime after 1152.[104] The text itself contains enough ambiguities that I would suggest that its actual date of composition might have been somewhat earlier, between 1137 and 1152.

Defente, the most recent scholar to assess the date of the *san-médardian Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* I, narrowed the date of composition to the years after Josselin's death, in October 1152.[105] A second miracle collection bearing the same title but encompassing the actions of other relics housed at Saint-Médard followed about 1158.[106] The date of the latter manuscript seems fairly certain given its precise reference to the disease that had struck Soissons thirty years earlier, '*ab annis XXX*'.[107] Both texts relate the events of 1128–29 in similar language and following a similar chronological sequence, although the more recent text lacks many of the details found in its predecessor, including Josselin's name, the account of Saint-Crépin's refusal to process with their relics in 1136/37, and so on. Moreover, it paraphrases the longer descriptions of Gregory's miracles performed a century earlier before the King and Queen of France and Fulk, Bishop of Soissons, while adding accounts of other miracles performed by the baby tooth of Christ, which the abbey claimed to possess.

[103] *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 939. It is worth noting that in other matters of dating Vrayet was more diligent. A letter from him to Luc d'Achery, written in 1655, fixes the date of Godfrey of Amiens's death in 1115, not 1118 as had been commonly thought. The letter is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Picardie 65, fol. 44.

[104] *Saint-Médard*, comp. by Defente, pp. 118 and 120.

[105] *Saint-Médard*, comp. by Defente, pp. 119–20.

[106] Brussels, B.R., MS 8714–19, fols 89^{r}–92^{v}.

[107] *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, I, 245.

Defente proposed a composition date after 1152 for the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* I based on the language of the document itself, specifically the verb tenses used to describe Josselin's doings. Before turning to this evidence, let us state here that it is clear that the text's terminus a quo is May 1136 or 1137, the death-date of Abbot Theulph of Saint-Crépin, which is mentioned in the text. When the author begins his description of the plague, he uses both the active and passive imperfect tense to describe the leading figures involved, namely Josselin (*episcopabatur*), Godfrey, the Abbot of Saint-Médard (and later Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne), and King Louis VI (*regnabat*). Nor does the author affix any of the traditional epithets (e.g. 'of revered memory') to indicate that these principal individuals had died, although in all probability Louis VI of France was already dead at the time the author was writing.[108]

There are otherwise no indications in the *Miracula* to support a date of composition later than 1152 until the very last chapter of the text. There Josselin is held to attest, in the wake of the Abbot of Saint-Crépin's death in 1136/37, that 'as long as he lived [he] was often accustomed to repeat — as much to those same men as to everyone else — what he had seen happen'.[109] Here, the simple past tense of *vivo* (*vixit*) would imply that he was indeed dead, yet the wording seems to me to leave room for ambiguity. Was Josselin's avowal an action performed strictly in the past, or one still ongoing, 'while he was alive', even as the author of *Miracula* wrote down the events of the plague? I am by no means convinced that the *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani* could not have been written after 1152, and indeed, there is no real need, for my purposes here, to insist on it. The monks of Saint-Crépin undoubtedly responded in their hagiographical enterprises to the historical events of 1128–29 and 1136/37, rather than to the manuscript that later recorded them. Given the prominent place Josselin enjoys in the *san-médardian* narrative, however, and the absence of any firm mention that the Bishop was deceased — and given, moreover, that monks of Saint-Médard had clearly sought the Bishop's patronage of their cult of Gregory and took great steps to commemorate it — it seems plausible to me that the *Miracula* were composed sometime between 1137 and 1152.

If the collection were in fact the product of the period between October 1152 and 1158, it may well have been directed in part at Josselin's successor, Ansculf of Pierrefonds. Ansculf (r. 1153–59) had been first archdeacon (1101–28/29), then

[108] Louis VI died 1 August 1137.

[109] 'Quamdiu vixit crebro tam ipsis quam omnibus id repetere solebat quod viderat accidisse': *Miracula sanctorum Gregorii et Sebastiani*, p. 941.

provost (1129–52), of the cathedral chapter and was the nephew of Hugh, Bishop of Soissons from 1093 to 1103.[110] This family connection is interesting in at least one respect: Hugh had had a fairly serious dust-up with the monks of Saint-Médard over the election of their abbot in 1094–95, a privilege the monks had long claimed, which resulted in Hugh excommunicating the abbot.[111]

Attribution of the piece's authorship is also problematic. Nicholas Belfort (1554–1624), a canon of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes of Soissons, believed the author to be one Hugh.[112] Belfort's assertion is nowhere borne out in the text itself, and by the publication in 1668 of the edition of the *Acta sanctorum* containing Gregory's miracles, the question of authorship had been left open. Belfort may have found what he considered to be a reliable attribution of authorship in the materials accompanying the version of Gregory's *miracula* that he copied from two manuscripts of Saint-Aubert of Cambrai. They may have stemmed from a different tradition of textual transmission, as they contain a number of relatively minor variations from the *Acta* edition.[113] The issue of authorship, however, remains unresolved.

[110] Newman, *Les seigneurs de Nesle*, I, 105–24.

[111] *Saint-Médard*, comp. by Defente, p. 104.

[112] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3088, fol. 42^{r}.

[113] BN, f. lat. 3088, fols 42–45. I have not yet had the opportunity to undertake a close comparison of the texts nor, to my knowledge, has a complete inventory of the existing manuscripts containing the *Miracula* been accomplished. At least three northern French manuscripts, all undated, contained a copy of the text — one from Corbie, two from Cambrai.

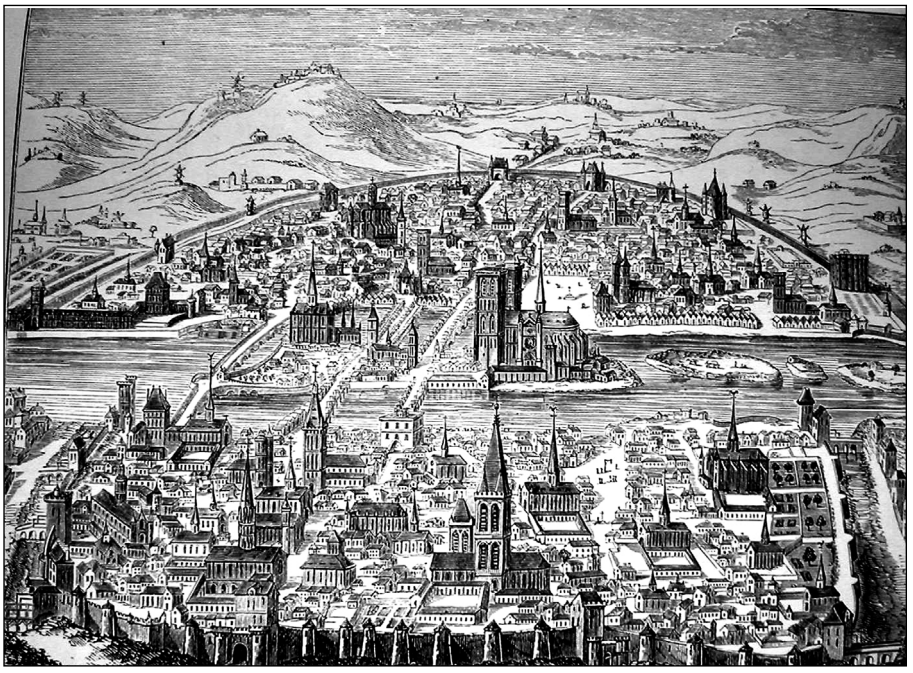


Figure 22. Paris, Aerial View, 1607, showing its medieval configuration; from Paul La Croix, *Moeurs, Usages et Costumes aux Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1872), p. 507.

Monks and Clerks in Search of the *Beata Schola*: Peter of Celle's Warning to John of Salisbury Reconsidered

John D. Cotts

In 1164 John of Salisbury returned to Paris, where he had received much of his early training in the arts and where he still found a vibrant and appealing intellectual community. He recounts this visit in a letter that laments the crises accompanying Archbishop Thomas Becket's quarrel with Henry II and assures Becket that he is trying to shore up support for their cause. Although he was apparently on a secret mission, John did not lay low, for he reports that he commiserated with the Archbishop's allies at Noyon, passed through several monasteries and cathedral schools, barely avoided a local political conflict near Reims, and finally changed course for Paris where he posed as a student and made provision for Becket's anticipated exile.[1] John himself was already an exile, his English possessions subject to confiscation. In the midst of this political nightmare, the city and its schools appear as a haven from tribulation, depicted in terms that distinguish it from the turmoil in John's usual haunts of England and the papal curia:

> And there I saw such quantity of food; a people so happy; such respect for the clergy; the splendour and dignity of the whole church; the tasks so diverse of the students of philosophy — saw and marvelled at it, as Jacob marvelled at the ladder whose summit reached to Heaven, which was the path of angels going up and down. The thrill of this

[1] For this aspect of John's biography, see Frank Barlow, 'John of Salisbury and his Brothers', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 95–109.

> happy pilgrimage compelled me to confess: 'Truly the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not' (Gen. 28. 16).[2]

His wonderment notwithstanding, the middle-aged John was no awestruck schoolboy. He knew what Paris was about and understood what it could represent. Indeed, some six years earlier he had written about the Parisian scene as insightfully as anyone ever would in his *Metalogicon*, where he revered and ridiculed students and masters without ever reducing the city or its schools to a caricature.[3] Now, in 1164, he clearly enjoyed being there; that he mentioned the food suggests that John's interest in the town was more than intellectual. Because Paris brings glory to the Church and bliss to philosophers and so embodies everything the Archbishop and his clerks lacked in England, John can approvingly repeat Ovid's sentiment that 'a happy thing is exile in such a place as this'.[4] Even as John struggles through financial hardship, has difficulty finding an affordable lodging, and undertakes his weighty business, Paris and its schools bask in a pious calm.

Because of the public nature of most medieval collections of correspondence, we can assume that this letter sought and received a larger audience than simply the addressee Becket.[5] It almost certainly caught the attention of John's dear

[2] 'Vbi cum uiderem uictualium copiam, laetitiam populi, reuerentiam cleri, et totius ecclesiae maiestatem et gloriam, et uarias occupationes philosophantium, admirans uelut illam scalam Iacob cuius summitas caelum tangebat, eratque uia ascendentium et descendentium angelorum, laetae peregrinationis urgente stimulo coactus sum profiteri quia "uere Dominus est in loco isto, et ego nesciebam"': John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 136, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (vol. I: London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1955; vol. II, OMT: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), II, 6–7.

[3] *Metalogicon* 2.10, ed. by J. B. Hall, rev. by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM, 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 70–73; see also Olga Weijers, 'The Chronology of John of Salisbury's Studies in France (*Metalogicon* ii.10)', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Michael Wilks, Studies in Church History: Subsidia, 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 109–16. Cf. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. I: *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 214–21.

[4] 'Felix exilium, cui locus iste datur': John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 136, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, 6–7. The phrase in Ovid's *Fasti*, I. 540 reads 'felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit!': ed. and trans. by J. G. Frazer (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931), p. 40.

[5] On the writing and compilation of letters during the Becket affair, see Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973); Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket: A Textual History of his Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 1–11; Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 23–29.

friend Peter of Celle, who soon thereafter wrote John a letter that elaborated on the notion of a happy exile. It is likely not a coincidence that the first line of Peter's letter repeats the phrase *felix exilium*. We can presume, then, that it is the visit of 1164 to which Peter refers in this letter which finds John in the city of schools, and in which the gentle Abbot implores him to leave.[6] A vastly different Paris appears here. Peter engages in a somewhat conventional critique of the vanities of the world and secular learning and has no time for the view that urban schools profit the faithful. The schools and their philosophers, he claims, pose dangers to the soul, and Peter urges John to opt for a purer school, a *beata schola*, where one's mind contemplates God and not the world. It is a short letter, and altogether didactic, in which Peter provides no news, no statement of friendship, only a warning. He makes his point quickly:

> You have chosen, my dearest one, a delightful enough exile where pleasures, albeit vain ones, abound in excess, where there is a wealth of bread and wine more plentiful than in your homeland (*patria*), where there is a constant stream of friends, where the companionship of fellows is no rare thing. Who else under the sky besides you did not reckon Paris to be a place of delights, 'a garden of plants', a field of first fruits? You, however, have spoken the truth in jest, because where there is greater and fuller pleasure for bodies, there is the true exile of souls, and where luxury reigns, the soul is wretchedly enslaved and afflicted. O Paris, how meet you are for seizing and deceiving souls! In you are the nets of the vices, in you the snare of evils, in you the arrow of hell transfixes the hearts of the foolish.[7]

Peter's Paris is the corrupting town that a long line of moralists and satirists attacked as worldly and incompatible with spiritual virtue. Loud, raucous, and vain, the city has ensnared John with its delights and threatens his spiritual health. This letter has entered the canon of representative statements about twelfth-century intellectual culture, and it has appeared often in scholarship as

[6] For the chronology of the correspondence between Peter and John, see Appendix 8 in *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. and trans. by Julian Haseldine, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp. 712–18.

[7] 'Satis amenum delegisti, mi karissime, exilium, ubi superhabundant gaudia licet uana, ubi exuberat plus quam in patria panis et uini copia, ubi amicorum frequens affluentia, ubi sociorum non rara contubernia. Quis preter te alius sub celo Parisius non estimauit locum deliciarum, "hortum plantationum", agrum primitiarum? Ridendo tamen uerum dixisti, quia ubi maior et amplior uoluptas corporum, ibi uerum exilium animarum, et ubi regnat luxuria, ibi miserabiliter ancillatur et affligitur anima. O Parisius, quam idonea es ad capiendas et decipiendas animas! In te retiacula uitiorum, in te malorum decipula, in te sagitta inferni transfigit insipientium corda': Peter of Celle, *Ep.* 170, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 656–57.

a definitive reactionary critique of the threatening novelties whose character somewhat exceeded the comprehension of the monks.[8] Having thus established the spiritual peril of John's situation, Peter goes on to construct the other side of a rhetorical opposition by depicting an alternative *patria* and a *schola* free from dangers to the soul:

> If only you would take this school for what it is, exile, and hasten back to your homeland (*patria*) not by word and tongue, but in deed and truth. There in the book of life you would not discern characters and letters but divinity and truth itself as it is, eye to eye, without the toil of reading, without the tediousness of seeing, without falsehood of error or understanding, without worry about retaining, without fear of forgetting. O blessed school (*beata schola*), where Christ instructs our hearts with the word of His virtue, where without study and reading we apprehend how we ought to live happily in eternity! There no book is bought, no master of scribes is employed; there is no circumvention of disputations, no entanglement of sophistries; there is a clear conclusion of all questions, a complete understanding of universal reasons and proofs. There life confers more than reading, simplicity is more profitable than sophistry.[9]

The lexicon of this letter — *disputationes*, *quaestiones*, *rationes universae* — clearly parodies the early schools, and so this piece supports a model of twelfth-century change that sees monks as conservative adversaries of the schools.[10] According to

[8] For introductions to the tradition of educational criticism in the twelfth century, see Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985); Jacques Le Goff, 'How Did the Medieval University Perceive Itself?', in *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 122–34; John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), esp. chapters 4, 5 and 6. For the patristic period, one can still find a sensitive introduction to anxieties over educational emphases in E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (New York: Dover, 1928), esp. pp. 102–11.

[9] 'Vtinam scolam istam sicut est exilium uere deputares et ad patriam non uerbo et lingua sed opere et ueritate festinares. Ibi in libro uite non figuras et elementa sed ipsam sicut est diuinitatem et ueritatem oculo ad oculum cerneres, sine labore legendi, sine fastidio uidendi, sine fallacia uel errore intelligendi, sine sollicitudine retinendi, sine timore obliuiscendi. O beata scola, ubi Christus docet corda nostra uerbo uirtutis sue, ubi sine studio et lectione apprehendimus quomodo debeamus eternaliter beate uiuere. Non emitur ibi liber, non redimitur magister scriptorum; nulla circumuentio disputationum, nulla sophismatum intricatio; plana omnium questionum determinatio, plena uniuersarum rationum et argumentationum apprehensio. Ibi plus uita confert quam lectio, plus prodest simplicitas quam cauillatio': Peter of Celle, *Ep.* 170, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 656–59.

[10] For example, Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Teresa Lavender Fagan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 21; Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, pp. 25, 87–88; Martin

such a model Peter, a theologically conservative Black monk, calls on a Paris-trained know-it-all to abandon the pursuits of the world, represented by Paris, and think solely on God in the *beata schola*, which Jacques Le Goff and others have identified as the cloister. Still, it is curious that Peter makes no specific mention of a particular monastery, or even to 'the cloister' construed abstractly. To his translation of part of the letter, Stephen Ferruolo added 'in the cloister' in brackets to Peter's list of glories associated with the 'blessed school'. This rendering is also used in the English translation of Le Goff's *Intellectuels au moyen âge*, which explains that 'thus the holy ignorance party pitted the school of solitude against the school of noise, the school of the cloisters against the school of the town, the school of Christ against that of Aristotle and Hippocrates'.[11] Given the absence of references to cloisters, Aristotle, and Hippocrates in the text, and given the tendency of historians to portray the intellectual options of the twelfth century in terms of stark polarities, we ought to consider carefully the dichotomies in this letter and its place in a broad tradition of monastic hostility towards the schools.

John and Peter's epistolary friendship is one of the most famous of the twelfth century, and possibly the most historically revealing.[12] Perhaps they first met in Paris in the 1120s when both studied there. We have little evidence for their relationship, however, until the late 1140s, when Peter rose to the abbacies of Celle and then Saint-Rémi at Reims, and John moved from the schools to Canterbury to the papal curia. It has been suggested that at some point John acted as some sort of clerk to his friend, with administrative responsibilities.[13] They endured the Becket controversy of the 1160s, both at a distance and together at Reims (where

Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 vols (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988), II, 119.

[11] Le Goff, *Intellectuals*, p. 21. Le Goff's translation of the Latin into French, it should be noted, does not interject the term 'cloître', but his ensuing analysis opposes 'les nouveau clercs des villes et les milieux monastiques'. See *Intellectuels au moyen âge*, 2nd edn (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1985), pp. 28–29.

[12] For the biography of Peter of Celle, see Gérard de Martel's introduction to *Pierre de Celle: L'École du Cloître* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1977), pp. 11–18; Gérard de Martel, 'Pierre de Celle à Reims', *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne*, 84 (1974), 71–105. There is considerably more literature available on the life of John of Salisbury. See Christopher Brooke, 'John of Salisbury and his World', in *World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Wilks, pp. 1–20. See also Brooke's introduction to *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, pp. xii–xxiv.

[13] Barlow, 'John of Salisbury and his Brothers', p. 101.

Peter hosted the exiled clerk), and as an old man the gentle Benedictine succeeded his late friend John as Bishop of Chartres. These shared experiences, however, represent only the most superficial aspect of their friendship. The attraction between these attractive personalities is unmistakable in their extant letters, in which they trade subtle jokes, confirm alliances, discuss current affairs, and express mutual affection through an elaborate shared language.[14] This makes it all the more intriguing that one should have written what is regarded as a classic broadside against the same schools that nurtured the other.

This epistolary exchange and its interpretations confront modern scholars with a semantic problem, for the term *schola* blurs the line between metaphor and identifiable institutions. Ernst Robert Curtius, discussing the *scuola* of poets and philosophers that Dante placed in Limbo, reminded his readers that 'the "school" as a way of life is something more real, more valid and more definite to the Middle Ages than it is to us'.[15] It is significant that Curtius should have embedded this bold claim in a note as a simple reminder to his readers, for in this way he underscores the prominence of the school as a symbol among other symbols taken for granted by medieval authors. Dante finds 'schools' of the noteworthy in the *Inferno* and in the *Paradiso* and uses the term to group minds by merit or sanctity, and for Curtius this usage illustrates the persistence of a 'religious metaphorics of the school' up to the fourteenth century.

The referents of this metaphorics, however, were far from constant. While the school as metaphor may have been a staple in medieval literature, during the high medieval centuries the actual schools and concomitant programmes for education that writers and satirists thought about did not follow a single model, and this is perhaps most spectacularly illustrated by the transformations in Northern France and especially Paris during the lifetimes of John of Salisbury and Peter of Celle. The anxiety caused by the changing institutional manifestations of learning, so evident in satires, moral invective, and changing ecclesiastical legislation, confirms that the idea of the 'school' was real and charged with meaning. Yet that meaning could be elusive, and discussions of medieval schools are complicated by the moral ambiguities that arose when traditional symbolic vocabularies were applied to new institutional contexts. During the middle decades of the twelfth century, the projection of these quite ancient anxieties onto Paris,

[14] This point is emphasized in P. Morizot, 'Jean de Salisbury et la Champagne', *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'agriculture, sciences, arts et belles-lettres du Département de l'Aube*, 99 (1939–42), 257–85 (p. 275).

[15] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series, 36 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 367, n. 52.

Bologna, and their schools began to take discernible literary form. The fervour of these twelfth-century debates among monks and scholars, logicians and humanists, supports Curtius's note that school was conceived of as a way of life, that education, comportment, and vocation all intertwined in various institutional settings, and that contemporaries discussed those settings with rhetorical urgency.

Partly because of scholastic and monastic writers' penchant for rhetorical opposition, discussions of learning in the mid-twelfth century in Northern France depend on some stark contrasts — cloistered and secular, symbolist and systematic, ancients and moderns (*antiqui* and *moderni*), simple and subtle — the more 'progressive' elements of which were eventually integrated into the great synthesis that was high scholastic culture.[16] While rejecting the notion that monks and their attitudes towards learning were essentially reactionary, Jean Leclercq argued that 'theology became diversified enough that the different spheres of Christian life [the urban schools on the one hand and monks on the other] acquired more distinct identities'.[17] Elsewhere Leclercq beautifully outlined the contours of 'monastic theology', and in a compelling chapter described how the experience of the liturgy affected the intellectual production of the monasteries.[18] In the last thirty years scholars have pursued this suggestion that the practice of a religious profession could shape the symbolic vocabulary and intellectual output of members of various orders. For Caroline Walker Bynum, the creation of new religious groups as an outlet for piety represents one of the most significant achievements of the twelfth century.[19] The crystallization of institutions of learning and the associated educational curricula, then, took place while distinctions became more evident between monks and clerics and between different sorts of monks.[20]

[16] The tidiest account of the synthesis is still R. W. Southern, 'Medieval Humanism', in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, pp. 29–60.

[17] Jean Leclercq, 'The Renewal of Theology' in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 68–87 (p. 69).

[18] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), pp. 191–251.

[19] See her series of articles: Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century', 'The Cistercian Concept of Community', and 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 22–58, 59–81, 82–109.

[20] Giles Constable, 'The Orders of Society', in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 249–360. See also Giles

The distinction between orders plays a prominent role in modern narratives of medieval intellectual change. While the scholars of Paris gained in influence and its thought became ever more systematic and ambitious, monastic commentators were left to bewail the complicated novelties coming from the banks of the Seine and to cling to the unadorned holiness that was realized most fully in the symbolic interpretation of scripture. Monastic leaders like Bernard of Clairvaux who repeatedly attacked the proponents of systematic theology, most famously Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée, can be placed with confidence on the losing side of the historical process that ended with the triumph of scholasticism and the dominance of Paris as a centre for theology.[21]

The culture of the twelfth century, however, with its cross-currents and unpredictable paths of influence, ultimately resists simple demarcation along scholastic or monastic lines.[22] Much of the distinction between orders of society, to be sure, is implicit in contemporary understanding of the social roles and in the resultant friction between groups,[23] and the schools figured into debates about proper behaviour. Bernard of Clairvaux assailed the schools as incompatible with monastic priorities, and satirists like the Benedictine Nigellus de Longchamps ridiculed those who neglected the cloister for secular pursuits, especially secular learning.[24] A rich rhetoric developed for morally evaluating the schools, and their moral worth was often calculated in relation to the monastery. Bernard thought of Paris and its schools as no less than Babylon and its students inferior to his

Constable, 'The Diversity of Religious Life and the Acceptance of Religious Pluralism in the Twelfth Century', in *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), no. VIII (pp. 29–47).

[21] See R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. II: *The Heroic Age* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 7–24; for a subtle and original assessment of Bernard's intellectual conservatism, see M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 34–40.

[22] On the question of the difference between 'scholastic' and 'monastic' approaches, see Thomas Head, '"Scholastic" and "Monastic" Theology: A Change of Paradigm?', in *Paradigms in Medieval Thought Applications in Medieval Disciplines*, ed. by Nancy van Deusen and Alvin E. Ford, Medieval Studies, 3 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1990), pp. 127–41.

[23] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 44–84; Martha G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform, 1098–1180* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 23–41.

[24] For Bernard, see Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, pp. 54–66. For the place of Nigellus de Longchamps in debates about learning, see M. T. Clanchy, 'The Moderni in Education', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), 671–88 (p. 681); Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, pp. 118–30.

Cistercian monks, while for the regular canon Philip of Harvengt 'the school ought to be called another cloister'.[25] From the secular cleric Peter of Blois, who admired monks, laboured in the schools, and never hesitated to hedge his bets, we learn that 'if there is a heaven in this present life, it is either in the cloister or in the schools'.[26] We therefore have some evidence that contemporaries fitted the new institutions into an existing Jerusalem-Babylon framework as circumstances required, and that whatever was happening at places like Paris became a topic of moral exhortation and invective alike.[27]

When Peter of Celle complains to John of Salisbury about Paris it would seem that he crosses a cultural boundary, and the scholars discussed above have focused on Peter as an outlet for conventional monastic sentiment about the schools. But John was his friend and never expressed interest in the monastic vocation, so the presence of this missive in a correspondence based on friendship and an uncanny ability (almost irrecoverable for the modern scholar) to communicate through shared symbols confronts us with questions of fundamental importance for our understanding of written culture. In particular, we need to consider how we might reconcile the historiographical assumption that different ecclesiastical groups possessed different world views, symbolic vocabularies, and educational values, with the indisputable transparency of language and metaphor evident in John and Peter's correspondence. This letter offers a glimpse into the dynamism of twelfth-century culture, since it shows how friendship, politics, and traditions of learning combined in the creation of a self-consciously public piece of literature.

The case of Peter himself is somewhat more ambiguous than a first reading of the letter may suggest. While Le Goff read the letter as an attack on 'the school of Aristotle and Hippocrates', for example, I have identified only one allusion to each of these figures in Peter's writings, and these allusions appear in the same passage. The two ancients do not represent a single school of thought but are referred to as authorities on the problem of whether a monk ought to change houses: 'I am not unaware that, according to Aristotle, it is not unprofitable to

[25] 'Scholaclaustrum alterum dici debet': Philip of Harvengt, *Ep.* 18, *PL* 203, cols 158D–159A; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De conversione ad clericos sermo*, *PL* 182, cols 834–56. On tension between the schools and the Cistercians, see Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 36–37; Ferruolo, *Origins of the University*, pp. 67–86.

[26] 'Si paradisus in hac vita praesenti est, vel in claustro est, vel in scholis': Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 13, *PL* 207, col. 42B.

[27] See Le Goff, 'How Did the Medieval University Perceive Itself?', p. 127.

have doubts about particular things. But I learn in Hippocrates that change more than anything else produces disease.'[28] A list of scriptural allusions follows and Peter concludes that the preponderance of authorities prescribe stability in one's vocation. This is perhaps a minor point, but a close reading of Peter's texts offers no firm evidence that he had as monolithic a sense of a scholastic-Parisian programme as some modern commentators have suggested. Far from condemning the Greek authorities, he cites them to back up his position on a pressing twelfth-century problem.

Le Goff's interpretation hinges on understanding the term *patria* to mean 'the cloister' — either as an abstract quantity or as Peter's abbey of Saint-Rémi itself — which is only vaguely suggested by the word's context within the letter. Peter plays on the opposed notions of exile and homeland to produce a highly complex political and moral commentary on John's plight. It is therefore likely that the terms *exilium* and *patria* are multivalent in the present context. *Exilium* denotes the political reality of John's trip to France, the spiritual want of one who turns away from the things of God (as one could certainly do at Paris), and, it seems, to John's physical absence from his friend Peter of Celle. The effect of Peter's re-evaluation of Paris is to put the lie to Ovid's idea of a happy exile, since whatever happiness John found there was necessarily fleeting. Given the circumstances of John's life in 1164, this was undoubtedly true. The term *patria*, on the other hand, could in its first appearance mean England, whence John had fled. John calls England his *patria* on at least three occasions in his letter collection, once in a letter to Peter.[29] When the Abbot tells him to *return* to his patria, however, it is not England he has in mind. There was nothing for John there, and the world Peter describes bears no relation to the tumultuous England John had written about.

Difficulties compound because Peter's language becomes quite other-worldly, even eschatological. He writes that in the *beata schola* of the *patria*, one can discern divinity and truth itself 'eye to eye', and that reading (*lectio*) and study

[28] 'Non ignoro apud Aristotelem dubitare de singulis non esse inutile. Teneo autem apud Ippocratem quod mutationes maxime generant morbos': Peter of Celle, *Ep.* 161, in *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 628–29.

[29] The letter to Peter with the usage of *patria* as England is John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 33, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, 54–55. The other references to England as John's *patria* are in *Ep.* 175, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, 162; *Ep.* 209, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, 316. On John's attitudes towards England and France as his homelands, see Hans Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 17 (London: Warburg Institute, 1950), pp. 100–02.

(*studium*) are unnecessary. He contrasts the books bought and sold at Paris with the 'book of life', likely an allusion to Revelation 20. 12 on the Last Judgment.[30] This *beata schola* is indeed a complete inversion of everything John reported finding during his exile, but it is hardly a model for monastic life, given the integral role of reading to the monastic day. Again the versatile vocabulary of the schools and the monasteries presents challenges to the interpreter, for few cloisters (ideally) went a day without *lectio* (the term also applied to the scholastic reading of the day's text before the *disputatio*), which is explicitly excluded from the *patria* to which Peter summons his friend.[31] There, one has no need for books, but Peter would later assure Bartholomew of Exeter that Saint-Rémi would provide 'a store of books and leisure for study' for any clerics exiled from England.[32] The *patria* of the warning to John would seem, then, to follow a monastic tradition and refer to heaven, to the next life, and this is the conclusion reached by Peter's recent editor, Julian Haseldine.[33]

Even if he is referring to his own monastery as John's *patria*, what Peter has created here is less a sweeping statement of educational priorities than an exhortation that his friend cease from his cares and visit him while keeping his thoughts on heaven. It is a very difficult passage, and Haseldine notes that the abrupt change in sense may result from a corrupt text. In the absence of compelling palaeographic evidence for a lost sentence or phrase, however, we need not look especially hard for a textual solution, for Peter's personality makes a sudden switch from the institutional to the eschatological altogether possible. He forever sought ways to relate whatever he observed to scripture and salvation.[34]

John's experience of 1164 thus becomes something of a text on which Peter practices his characteristic symbolic exegesis. The Abbot places his friend's journeys and struggles into a broad eschatological and spiritual framework that transcends available institutions of learning. John's vacillation between *exilium* and *patria* is a classic Christian dilemma that provides fine material for a mini-

[30] As cited above, note 9.

[31] On monastic uses of *lectio*, see Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 71–86.

[32] 'Copiam librorum et studendi otium': *Ep.* 108, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 432–33.

[33] See Haseldine's note, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, p. 657, n. 5. On *patria*, see also Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 54, referring in particular to Eadmer's *De beatitudine coelestis patriae* (*PL* 159, cols 587–666), and Haymo's *De varietate librorum sive de amore caelestis patriae* (*PL* 118, cols 875–958).

[34] See Jean Leclercq, *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle (1115–1183)* (Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1946), p. 50.

sermon, and by writing one Peter demonstrates not monastic insularity but his close involvement with John's career and spiritual health. As Martha Newman has argued with regard to the Cistercians, withdrawal from the world did not necessitate withdrawal from social life,[35] and this serves to admonish us from viewing Peter's warning as a rhetorical assault on scholastic learning from a hostile outsider. Peter used the earthly delights of Paris as a moral lesson that works in part because he recognized John's attraction to them. Moreover, the piece should not be divorced from the Becket conflict, which is, after all, a story of school-trained clerks travelling between England, France, and Rome, making difficult decisions about their place in the world and reporting on their dilemmas through carefully crafted letters which sometimes defy clear interpretation.[36] The present piece is a telling introduction to the joys and perils of the epistolary genre, where metaphor and reality, the personal and the conventional, can be seamlessly interwoven.

The *beata schola*, then, carries an eschatological meaning that supersedes any direct contrast between school and cloister. It is striking in this regard that Peter does not use the term *schola* and related words very often — I have located two instances of forms of *schola* in his letters (including the one under discussion above), two in his sermons, and two in his treatise *On Claustral Discipline*.[37] On only two occasions does he refer to concrete institutions; he generally prefers a loose meaning with an uncertain earthly referent. When he speaks of a *coelestis schola* in a synodal sermon addressed to Church officials, he refers to the priesthood and possibly all clerics and to their task of creating an image of heaven on earth. This entire cohort of heavenly spirits forms a 'heavenly school where nothing else is read, nothing else is learned, nothing else is taught', than how to

[35] Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 1–13.

[36] On letters surrounding the Becket affair, see Anne Duggan's introduction to *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162–1170*, 2 vols, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), I, pp. xxi–xxvii. Also, Anne Duggan, 'John of Salisbury and Thomas Becket', in *World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Wilks, pp. 427–38; Alan Piper, 'New Evidence for the Becket Correspondence and John of Salisbury's Letters', in ibid., pp. 439–44; Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, pp. 8–31; Carolyn Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 98–110.

[37] The other letter referring to *scholae* is Peter of Celle, *Ep.* 89, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 380–81, referring to Master Gilbert Crispin: 'Ecce Parisius ad scolas vadit' ('See, he goes to the schools in Paris'). The two sermons are *Sermo* 86, *PL* 202, col. 874, and *Sermo* 91 (see following note); the two references in *De disciplina claustralis* will be discussed below.

behave in a godly fashion.[38] Such men can in effect create an earthly paradise. For Peter, then, the notion of a 'school' that is intimately tied to an otherworldly paradise carries symbolic value outside a strictly monastic setting.

Peter's heavenly schools reflect what Curtius called 'the school as a way of life' more than a specific anti-scholastic educational program. There was indeed some precedent for referring to the monasteries and schools in ways that blur the line between the institutional and the eschatological. Peter Damian, writing a century earlier, addressed his *De laude flagellorum et disciplinae* to 'our holy brothers passing their time in the heavenly school of Monte Casino'.[39] This eleventh-century hermit also claimed that 'the solitary life is the school of heavenly doctrine and the discipline of the divine arts', and distinguished this *vita solitaria* from normal monastic observance.[40] In these examples and others, the heavenly school, while certainly not at odds with the concerns of the cloister, can symbolize something more than simply an institution of learning. The twelfth-century monastery, of course, generally carried an eschatological value as a heaven on earth from which monks look after the souls of the living and dead alike. Peter of Celle's letter imparts this sensibility to John of Salisbury's world of exile and scholarship.

Although Peter's status as a reactionary critic of the new learning and schools has been simplified, there is no question that his relationship with John marks an instructive point of contact between monastic traditions and the distinct clerical and scholarly environment in which the latter immersed himself. The two men wrote in very different genres and wrote about very different things, and no one would confuse their prose styles. Peter churned out sermons, commentaries, and treatises about the monastic life while John produced what were to become founding documents of courtly and scholastic criticism in *Policraticus* and *Metalogicon*, respectively. What they both did and did well was write letters, and when they wrote to each other they used a common language and referred to common intellectual interests, betraying no lack of transparency and no barrier between the monastic and secular clerical thought worlds. Their correspondence, and twelfth-century epistolography in general, channels Latin learning

[38] 'In schola illa coelesti nil aliud legitur, nil aliud ediscitur, nilque aliud edocetur': *Sermo* 91, *PL* 202, col. 916A.

[39] 'Sanctis fratribus in Casini montis coelesti schola degentibus': Peter Damian, *De laude flagellorum et disciplinae*, *PL* 145, col. 679A.

[40] 'Solitaria sane vita coelestis doctrinae schola est, ac divinarum artium disciplina': Peter Damian, *Dominus vobiscum ad Leonem hermitam*, *PL* 145, col. 246D.

into literary exchanges concerning all facets of intellectual life.[41] If we examine the general nature of their correspondence and closely read a few important passages, we can think more carefully about how monks and clerks approached contemporary trends in learning.

It is generally acknowledged that John and Peter met in Paris as young men. Since they were roughly the same age, Peter's stay at the Cluniac house of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in the Parisian suburbs would have coincided with John's progress through the various schools of the city, and they may have shared such masters as Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches, Richard de Pont-l'Évêque, and Peter Helias.[42] During the 1140s, while John's studies advanced, Peter became the Abbot of Montier-la-Celle. Their careers thus diverged for a time, but we find them corresponding as old friends in the 1150s, and they shared the fate of dying as Bishops of Chartres.

Peter and John thus trained during the period in the history of learning in France when Paris asserted itself as the leading centre for the study of theology and the arts, though John probably involved himself more directly in the life of the schools. We find some indication of their shared interests from John's compelling account of Gilbert de la Porrée's heresy trial of 1148. This appears in John's continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux's history, now known as *Historia pontificalis*, which he dedicated to Peter in 1164, the same year that Peter warned him about the schools of Paris.[43] While a dedication in the twelfth century itself gives no hint that the work's contents would have held the slightest interest to the honouree, John leaves no doubt that he intends Peter to read and learn from his history and even addresses Peter in the middle of the book.[44] In addition to recounting events at the papal curia and the city of Rome and to offering asides

[41] See John Van Engen, 'Letters, Schools, and Written Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century', in *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Johannes Fried (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1997), cols 97–132.

[42] This has been suggested by Gérard de Martel, in his introduction to *Pierre de Celle*, p. 12, n. 3.

[43] For the date, see Marjorie Chibnall, introduction to *The Historia pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956), p. xxviii.

[44] John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, p. 41. On dedications, see C. H. Haskins, 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71–77; John F. Benton, 'The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 551–91.

on various political goings-on, John provides his friend, in response to a specific request, with an account of Gilbert's trial at Reims and his quarrel with Bernard of Clairvaux.[45] John's approach to the dispute combines reverence and embarrassment for both parties and recognizes that intellectually the two men had different priorities. Bernard was in John's view the greatest preacher since Gregory the Great while Gilbert, whom he places among the *scholastici doctores* of the day, had greater secular learning than anyone but no head for practicalities.[46] Writing to his Benedictine friend, John does not choose sides or speak of a fundamental clash between the schools and the world. Gilbert, after all, had plenty of non-monastic enemies.[47] Perhaps what is most striking about John's prose in these portions of the *Historia* is the absence of harsh rhetorical oppositions in describing the rival camps at the Council of Reims.

To be sure, John outlines two distinct paths to erudition: Bernard's eloquent preaching and encyclopaedic knowledge of scripture, and Gilbert's subtle exegesis built on his acquaintance with both patristic and secular authorities. John allows that 'they were both exceedingly learned and certainly eloquent, though in different pursuits',[48] but he writes as though little was at stake in the dispute beyond Gilbert's reputation. Both were remarkably learned men who saw a specific issue differently. Whether Peter agreed with his friend's assessment is not clear, for he did not refer to the *Historia* in any letters, but that John should have sent a long digression on Gilbert de la Porrée, one that included a fairly detailed

[45] John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, pp. 15–41. As noted, John justifies this digression through a direct address to Peter (p. 41): 'Hec, amicorum karissime, diffusius fortasse quam ratio propositi exigebat prosecutus sum, tum ut hominem plenius noueris quem te uidisse gaudes et doles non audisse, tum ut tue satisfacerem uoluntati, edisserens intelligentiam quam prefatus episcopus in supra positis credebatur habere capitulis' ('I have dwelt on these matters, my dearest friend, longer perhaps than the nature of the subject required: but I was anxious to give you a fuller picture of the man whom you have had the good fortune to know though not to hear, and to obey your request by explaining to the best of my ability the bishop's interpretation of these propositions').

[46] John of Salibury, *Historia pontificalis*, pp. 26–27.

[47] See the list of accusers at John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, p. 16.

[48] 'Erant tamen ambo optime litterati et admodum eloquentes sed dissimilibus studiis': John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, p. 26. I have modified Chibnall's translation, which reads 'they excelled in different branches of learning', on the grounds that her rendering of *studia* as 'branches of learning', though reasonable, implies a technical precision not present in this instance.

discussion of his thought, suggests that John and Peter shared a common interest in the implications of contemporary systematic theology.

The list of books that John and Peter sent to each other confirms the impression that their intellectual outlooks overlapped considerably. They exchanged copies of Peter's *De panibus*, John's *Policraticus*, an unidentified commentary of Hugh of Saint-Victor, Boethius's *De trinitate*, and the sermons of Gebuin of Troyes and Bernard of Clairvaux.[49] A small sampling, perhaps, but enough to suggest that both men sought out the works of ancients and moderns, monks and clerics, with similar zeal. Furthermore, through their circulation of scriptural commentaries, a book on trinitarian theology, and works from the school of Saint-Victor and from the cloisters, they provide additional evidence for the large community of learning John describes in his *Historia*. Peter, a politically important and intellectually sensitive abbot of a major monastery, fitted neatly into that community.

The letters exchanged between the two provide a more thorough picture of their shared intellectual culture. Peter's 'warning letter' is but one part of an extraordinary written dialogue in which they demonstrate their stylistic prowess, express anxieties about events, engage in light-hearted literary gamesmanship, and show genuine affection for one another. Few medieval genres present challenges as imposing as letters do, though careful scholarship is beginning to render them more transparent.[50] This is not the place for a thorough introduction to medieval epistolography, but to interpret effectively the learned conversation of John and Peter's correspondence we need to keep in mind the peculiarities of the genre. We can read these letters because they were collected and circulated as parts of collections that were intended simultaneously to edify readers (on both spiritual and stylistic matters), memorialize famous persons, and testify to friendship. They are at once intimate and entirely public.[51]

[49] John of Salisbury, *Epp.* 31, 33, 34, 111, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, 49–51, 55–58, 59–62, 180–82. On the exchange of the sermons of Gebuin, see also Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools*, pp. 114–15.

[50] The best general introduction to the genre is still Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

[51] On the varied contents of Peter of Celle's letters and the importance of friendship language, see Julian Haseldine, 'Understanding the Language of *Amicitia*: The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (c. 1115–1183)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994), 237–60. For John of Salisbury, see John McLoughlin, '*Amicitia* in Practice: John of Salisbury (c. 1120–1190) and his Circle', in *England in the Twelfth Century: The Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 165–81.

Altogether the extant collections provide us with eighteen letters from Peter to John and eleven from John to Peter, dating from as early as 1147 to as late as 1180. Aside from the address clauses that identify Peter as an abbot and John as 'his clerk', there are few explicit references in the letters to their distinct vocations.[52] We find instead a near seamless conjuncture of intellects that in turn creates a remarkable literary world of shared metaphors and avowals of friendship.[53] Their friendship permeates their experience, for it is at once the classical, disinterested *amicitia* seized upon by twelfth-century monks and a political necessity.[54] John's letters make it clear that he regarded it a stroke of political fortune that his best friend happened to be the abbot of an old and powerful monastery.[55] Their friendship finds expression also in their intellectualism, and the distinction between monk and cleric melts away nowhere so much as in John's letter 111. 'Who doubts,' he asks, 'that he ought to share his goods with those who are of one single mind with him, if the truth of professed friendship is preserved by the loyalty of love?' This is followed by an acknowledgement of his 'partnership of mind' — *participium* [. . .] *animorum* — with Peter, which John reinforces through the presentation of a gift, a copy of his *Policraticus*.[56] Without missing a beat, John outlines the main themes of the book and so brings his friend into the ethical universe of a courtier that he found so frustrating. Peter, for his part, had nothing but praise for John's writing in a letter sent some time later. 'What you write is seasoned with philosophical perceptions, adorned with the colourings of rhetoric, embellished with the most seemly adornments of the laws, supported by the pillars of the Gospels and, in that which pertains to friends, sweetened most fittingly with the flavour of honey'.

[52] The salutation *suo clerico suus abbas*, or some variation on it, is found in the following letters of Peter: Peter of Celle, *Epp*. 65, 70 and 170, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 310–13, 322–27, 656–59.

[53] On Peter's language for expressing friendship, see Haseldine, 'Understanding the Language of *Amicitia*', pp. 254–58.

[54] Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250*, Cistercian Studies, 95 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988); J. C. Moore, *Love in Twelfth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), pp. 38–43, 47–74; Jean Leclercq, 'L'amitié dans les lettres au moyen âge', *Revue du moyen âge latin*, 1 (1945), 391–410; I. S. Robinson, 'The Friendship Network of Gregory VII', *History*, 63 (1978), 1–22.

[55] See especially John of Salisbury, *Ep*. 33, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, 1, 55.

[56] 'Quis enim res ambigit participandas eis, quorum unus est animus, si ueritas professionis in amoris fide seruatur?': John of Salisbury, *Ep*. 111, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, 1, 180.

John's letters, moreover, contain the 'school [here, *gymnasium*] of philosophizing'.[57]

Peter similarly offered his work to John for his approval and edification. Sometime around 1157, he sent John a copy of his treatise *De panibus*, a meticulous attempt to identify and interpret scriptural references to bread.[58] Suitably impressed, John thanked him for the gift and even played along, asking for an additional gift of 'wine' to help him wash down the bread. This reply, numbered 33 in John's collection, is in itself a remarkable exercise in mixing metaphor and reality, and in combining the intellectual predilections of the day. Where Peter had, in *De panibus*, buried him in a sea of scriptural allusions, John fires back with the words of Horace discussing honeyed cakes and waffles.[59] Peter would later refer to John's letters as 'wine', yet John may have had a more than metaphorical vintage in mind here.[60] A digression on wine and beer concludes with criticism of the wines of Italy, Sicily, and Greece (including Cicero's beloved Falernian). John thus integrates classical allusion, Peter's symbolic exegesis, and a conceit of contemporary lyric into a statement of thanks and friendship. The letter testifies not only to John's interest in the 'authentically Benedictine' spirituality and exegesis of Peter of Celle, but also to a shared outlook on scripture and learning that may have extended to the larger friendship circles, monks and clerks alike, that were exchanging books and epistolary collections like this one.[61]

[57] 'Sensibus philosophicis que scribis condiuntur, rethoricis coloribus uestiuntur, decentissimis legum ornamentis decorantur, columpnis euangelicis fulciuntur et, quod ad amicos attinet, mellito sapore decentissime dulcorantur [. . .] gymnasium ad philosophandum': Peter of Celle, *Ep.* 70, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 322–23.

[58] Peter of Celle, *De panibus*, *PL* 202, cols 929–1046. For the place of *De panibus* in the broader tradition of symbolic interpretation of scripture, see M.-D. Chenu, 'The Symbolist Mentality', in *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 99–145 (p. 111).

[59] John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 33, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, 56. The reference is Horace, *Epistles, Book I*, ed. by Roland Mayer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1.10, 10–11, p. 69.

[60] For the debate over wine and beer in twelfth-century poetry, see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), II, 287–89.

[61] Peter's spirituality is called 'authentiquement bénédictine' by Leclercq, *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle*, p. 11.

Yet John had not finished bestowing gifts upon the Abbot. The next letter in the sequence begins as a business letter reporting on the journey of two monks in England, but slips into the language of friendship to introduce a present that, John assures the recipient, carries great symbolic value. 'It is a silver salt cellar with decorations of gold.' John explains: salt is 'the seasoning of all sacrifices', contained in 'the refined silver of pure eloquence', while the gold decorations inspire virtuous conduct. The roundness of the cellar symbolizes Peter's monastic perfection.[62] John matched Peter's ability to turn the world into a page of scripture and reveal its meaning to fellow believers. In a similar vein John wrote his letter 112, in which the shared language is that of classical allusions, and his political enemies receive such names as Trimalchio and Corydon.[63] This piece, which according to Christopher Brooke 'is built up on a card-house of word-play indescribably medieval', brings Peter into the current of twelfth-century humanism, or, put more appropriately, shows the modern reader his place in that current.[64]

The letters discussed above, all from the period between 1157 and 1164 and thus written before the Becket controversy, display a humanistic ease that gradually recedes, beginning with the tribulations of the late 1160s. Shortly after Archbishop Thomas's martyrdom Peter looked back wistfully to 'the jokes of an earlier time' — *iocos prioris seculi* — and weariness pervades a letter of the late 1170s in which he rebukes John for actions taken as Bishop of Chartres.[65] Throughout the correspondence, however, John shares with Peter every part of the clerical experience and Peter responds with the advice (and occasionally the rebukes) of a sage abbot. John imparts an amazing variety of information to Peter, and the latter plays a number of different roles in the letter collection. The Abbot of Saint-Rémi, as a recurring recipient of John's letters, makes for one of the most fascinating literary characters of the twelfth century. Together, the two men display a common approach to behaviour in the world and to the learning of the schools that helps to make their observations mutually comprehensible.

It is important to remember in this regard that neither John nor Peter conceived of 'learning' or 'schools' apart from the right way to live and act, what

[62] 'Hoc utique uas salarium est argenteum aureas habens notas', 'sacrificiorum est omnium condimentum', and 'examinato eloquii casti argento': John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 34, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, 60–61.

[63] John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 112, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, 183–84:

[64] See Christopher Brooke's introduction to *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, p. xlvii.

[65] *Ep.* 174, *Letters of Peter of Celle*, pp. 668–71.

scholars today might term 'comportment', and their views on this were indeed shaped by their respective professional situations.[66] Despite their shared language and humanistic interests, the clerk and the Abbot did in fact operate in different institutional settings, and their prescriptions for comportment assume distinct characteristics.[67] Peter's great treatise on monastic comportment, *De disciplina claustralis*, outlines how monastic life leads to good living. Scholars have taken to translating the title as the 'School of the Cloister', which makes sense inasmuch as *disciplina* was an educational as well as a moral ideal, but this rendering obscures the treatise's complete absence of references to the cloister as a school.[68] The term *schola* appears only twice in the text, once with reference to Christ 'whose throne is in heaven and whose school is on earth',[69] and once, in a fine example of twelfth-century intellectual taxonomy, to separate the workplace of the monk from that of the Jews, philosophers and non-monastic Christians: 'The philosopher teaches in the schools; the Jew, in the synagogue; the Christian, in the church; the religious, in the cloister.'[70] Peter refers not so much to distinct institutions as to ideal types, which he then organizes into what is essentially an eschatological hierarchy: 'Let [claustral discipline] fulfil the beginning of its vows with the philosopher, the middle elements with the Jew, their farthest parts with Christians, and their ultimate reaches with a free will joined to grace.'[71] The benefits of Peter's program for comportment, which represents an encomium of monastic ethics articulated in general terms, are indistinguishable from its

[66] On comportment, see Dilwyn Knox, '*Disciplina*: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility', in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.*, ed. by John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (New York: Italica Press, 1991), pp. 107–36.

[67] Van Engen, 'Letters, Schools and Written Culture', p. 98.

[68] Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustralis*, *PL* 202, cols 1090–1146. The translations used here are from *Peter of Celle: Selected Works*, trans. by Hugh Feiss, Cistercian Studies, 100 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987). The rationale behind rendering *de disciplina claustralis* as 'l'école du cloître' is explained by de Martel in his introduction to *Pierre de Celle*, pp. 34–36.

[69] 'Cujus cathedra est in coelo et schola in mundo': Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustralis*, c. 1, *PL* 202, col. 1101C.

[70] 'Docet in scholis philosophus, in Synagoga Judaeus, in ecclesia Christianus, in claustro religiosus': Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustralis*, c. 8, *PL* 202, col. 1114A. See also Peter's *De lectione et afflictione*, ed. by Jean Leclercq, in *La Spiritualité de Pierre de Celle*, pp. 231–39 (p. 238).

[71] 'Adimpleat quae prima sunt in voto cum philosopho, quae media cum Judaeo, quae extrema cum Christiano, quae suprema ex gratia cum libero arbitrio': Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustralis*, c. 8, *PL* 202, col. 1114D.

anticipation of heaven. Reading and study play roles as instrumental goods, provided they are directed towards proper ends.[72] His treatise shows approval of secular study if it contributes to the elevation of the spirit that his *disciplina*, which refers generally to the monastic life, allows.[73] The terminology is vague and relatively unconcerned with secular institutions, and even Peter's abstract treatment of the 'cloister', which includes regular canons, ignores the variety of observance within twelfth-century monasticism.[74]

In John of Salisbury's treatises on clerical behaviour, *Metalogicon* and *Policraticus*, he explored how the learned man ought to be trained in the arts and philosophy, and, once trained, how he might manoeuvre ethically in government. His scholar and his courtier are the same entity, just as the two books were probably intended as two parts of a single literary work; this mirrors John's belief that philosophy and administration went hand in hand.[75] Ethics and scholarship thus merged in the functioning of the learned clerk in the world.

Neither the school nor the courts, however, had quite the institutional coherence that modern scholars have tried to impart to them.[76] As they usually are for Peter, the 'schools' themselves are morally neutral in John's writings, though he never seems to place them into an eschatological framework. Perhaps this was not the prerogative of such a busy man (though Peter of Celle, as his letters make clear, had little time for leisure himself).[77] John's classical ethical system was still

[72] See Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustralis*, c. 5, *PL* 202, col. 1108A–D.

[73] On the incorporation of the term *disciplina* into patristic thought and its transformations in the early Middle Ages, see Walter Drürig, '*Disciplina*: Eine Studie zum Bedeutungsumfang des Wortes in der Sprache der Liturgie und der Väter', *Sacris Erudiri*, 4 (1952), 245–79. For its importance in Hugh of Saint-Victor's educational ideal, see Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's 'Didascalicon'* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 15–17. For its importance to Hugh and during the early cathedral school period, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 12–14 and 256–60.

[74] Bynum, 'Spirituality of Regular Canons', pp. 39, 44–45, and 68 n. 26.

[75] Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, pp. 21–22; Egbert Türk, *Nugae Curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1145–1189) et l'éthique politique*, Hautes Etudes Medievales et Modernes, 28 (Geneva: Droz, 1977), pp. 68–72.

[76] An instructive analogue to this argument is found in J. E. A. Joliffe's observation that twelfth-century schools 'were not poor in ideas about monarchy, but none of these could be made the working principle of a state': *Angevin Kingship*, 2nd edn (London: A. & C. Black, 1963), p. 19.

[77] On John's inability to be a leisured humanist, in contrast to the experience of the monk William of Malmesbury, see Rodney Thomson, 'Currents in Twelfth-Century Humanism:

essentially fragmentary, and for him *disciplina* carries a wide variety of meanings, in general connoting not a single model of comportment but a branch of learning — similar to the modern academic sense of 'discipline'. Despite the sometimes frustrating abstractions in Peter's thought, his model for comportment had greater focus, and did not need to deal with the frenetic world of clerical service and scholarship. R. W. Southern, writing on Abelard and Heloise, commented that,

> their age had not yet developed a plausible ethic for the secular life. Outside the monastic ethic there were only fragments of a classical ethic, difficult to combine in a coherent system, and still more difficult to combine with the needs of secular activity whether in government, trade or marriage.[78]

John's vision of the *schola* belonged to this fragmented ethical world. The schools of Paris, the royal court, even the secular clergy as a whole, all lacked coherent ethical systems or clearly defined institutional frameworks.

Without question, Peter of Celle's monastic profession shaped his thought and provided him with his intellectual priorities. He adored his cloister and his monks and saw both with an eye to their role in the drama of salvation, and he thought and worried about things that his friend John did not write about. He certainly worried about secular learning, and expressed his anxieties about it to John. Yet Peter's experience in the ecclesiastical politics of the day, as well as his correspondence with John, show he was firmly grounded in the main intellectual currents of his age. His warning that Paris, with its disputations and distractions, endangered one's soul needs to be understood not as a mini-treatise on the contemporary curriculum but as a mini-sermon suited to John of Salisbury's dilemmas at the outset of the Becket conflict. It appears in a continuing correspondence that considered as a whole suggests a shared outlook on the world and on study. If we consider John and Peter's epistolary exchange along with the evidence concerning their friendship circles, we can find good evidence for a 'textual community' of educated monks and clerks that traverses boundaries formed by distinct religious professions or educational institutions.[79]

The foregoing study has endeavoured to show that Peter's famous attack on the schools and scholars of Paris can yield a far more nuanced understanding of

John of Salisbury and William of Malmesbury', in *World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Wilks, pp. 117–25.

[78] R. W. Southern, 'The Letters of Abelard and Heloise', in *Medieval Humanism*, p. 95.

[79] See Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

the distinction between scholastic and monastic than has generally been assumed. The simple term 'school' itself, with its multiplicity of meanings and metaphorical uses that transcend contemporary institutional contexts, should be treated with caution by scholars, who have too often regarded its meaning as transparent. In considering the attitudes of twelfth-century writers towards trends in learning, one must examine the points of contact between the supposedly distinct strains of twelfth-century culture through those writers' vocabularies, shared symbols, and friendship networks. Only then can the indisputable transformations in western learning that took place throughout the century be fully understood. The correspondence discussed here strongly suggests a more dynamic model for such changes.

Peter and John could look to many sets of prescriptions for the good life, and both acknowledge that *scholae* have a place in that life, but their correspondence took place at a time when ways of life did not easily relate to an institutional reality. This sort of cultural ambiguity was suggested neatly, years ago, in a compelling article by Johann Huizinga, who in describing John as a 'pre-Gothic mind' remarked that 'the shape of the world, the forms of life and the spirit, had not yet crystallized in the style of Gothicism'.[80] The light wordplay, the broad range of intellectual interests, and the genuine (and beautifully expressed) friendship of John and Peter's letters all illustrate this dynamism and fluidity of contemporary culture. While Peter of Celle's warning about Paris reminds us of the rhetorical weapons that could be used against the schools, it also shows how *scholae* played a role in an eschatological vision. On this earth, the life of the mind was lived simultaneously in schools, in cloisters, and above all in letters.

[80] Johann Huizinga, 'John of Salisbury: A Pre-Gothic Mind', in *Men and Ideas* (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), pp. 159–77 (p. 162).

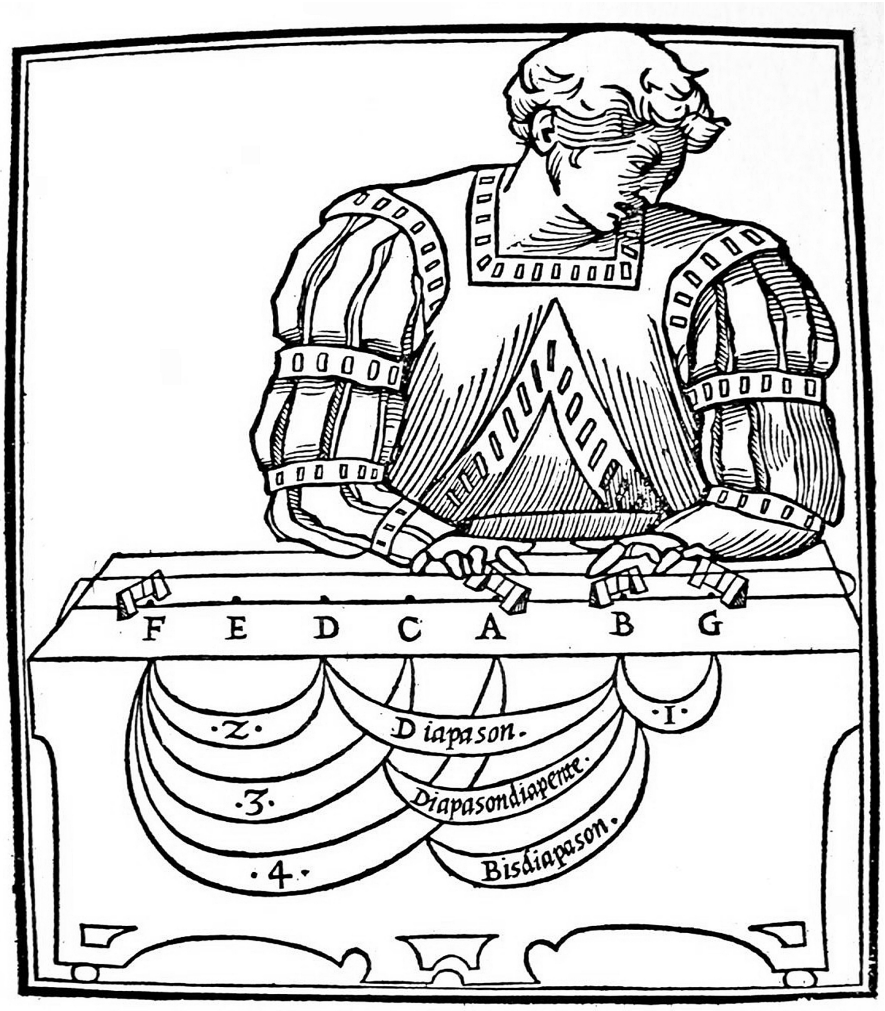


Figure 23. Monochordist at work; from Ludovico Fogliano, *Musica Theorica* (Venice: J. Antonius, 1529), fol. 12^{v}.

Reason and Original Thinking in English Intellectual Circles: Aristotle, Adelard, *Auctoritas*, and Theinred of Dover's Musical Theory of Species

John L. Snyder

In his essay 'The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance' Richard Southern takes the view that the contributions of Anglo-Norman scholars to the medieval renaissance were somewhat limited, with the best work being in the area of historical writing. About the brightest star in the English galaxy — John of Salisbury — Southern says, 'John wrote in England, but everything he wrote he had learnt in France'.[1] As we shall see, however, there were at least a few sparks of original intellect at work in English minds in fields other than history, here exemplified by the hitherto neglected musical theories of Theinred of Dover.

Theinred's treatise, *De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum*,[2] besides its unique treatment of its subject, raises interesting questions concerning the *magister-discipulus* relationship. In the *Proœmium* to his work, Theinred addresses his student Alfred: 'Nevertheless, my dear Alfred, owing [you] obedience for your very worthy merit, I shall try to satisfy your request with moderate brevity.'[3] The amatory language (*dilecte*, which might also be rendered 'beloved')

[1] R. W. Southern, 'The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance', in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970), pp. 159–80 (p. 159).

[2] Theinredus Doverensis, *De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum*, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 842, fols 1–44^{v}.

[3] 'Condigno tamen tuo obnoxius pro merito brevitate moderata postulationi tue, dilecte Alverede, satisfacere temptabo': Theinred, *De legitimis*, MS Bodley 842, fol 1^{v}.

is part of a venerable tradition.[4] But the sentence also suggests that Alfred is in some respect(s) Theinred's superior, socially, ecclesiastically, or both. The teacher-student relationship in this case is thus somewhat complicated: intellectual superiority — at least with respect to a particular field of study — may be operating independently of the social and ecclesiastical hierarchies. Although nothing is known of Theinred's life, this essay will argue that he fits into the monastic tradition of learning in the eleventh century, as discussed earlier in this volume, as a very creative scholar as yet unbound by the more rigid scholastic rules of the twelfth century in which he lived.

Theinred belonged instead to the monastic tradition of experimentation, the forging of new ideas and ways of thinking exemplified especially by the school of Bec and the activities of its students, as discussed in the essays above. His possible identification with a Tenredus mentioned by John of Salisbury will be considered below. Priscilla Watkins has provided a glimpse of the importance attached to musical tradition in the monasteries, and Sally Vaughn has mentioned Osbern and Eadmer of Canterbury, students of Bec, as cantors. While there is no known connection between either of these men and Theinred, Osbern is credited (though not securely) with a treatise on music.[5] John of Salisbury himself was closely associated in his later career with Canterbury and its circle around Archbishop Theobald, former Abbot of Bec and thus an heir to the tradition of Lanfranc and Anselm. The intellectual climate in England, therefore, especially that surrounding John of Salisbury, was well prepared for a musical treatise from a native son.

Like all educated men of the time, John and Theinred were familiar with Aristotle's *Topics*, though probably via Latin translations rather than in the Greek. Aristotle's idea of *prior* and *posterior* is particularly relevant to the issue of pedagogy: 'Generally what is *posterior* is [perceptible] to anyone, whereas the comprehension of what is *prior* is reserved to the more profound and learned intellect.'[6]

[4] See Münster-Swendsen's discussion of this topic in the final essay of this volume.

[5] The text has been published as *Codex Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Rawl. C 270, pars A: 'De vocum consonantiis ac De re musica' (Osberni Cantuariensis?)*, ed. by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Divitiae musicae artis; series A, 10a (Buren: Knuf, 1979). It is also of interest that a wandering student collected a number of short works on music, which found their way to England at the turn of the twelfth century (published as *Codex Oxoniensis Bibl. Bodl. Rawl. C 270, pars B: XVII tractatuli a quodam studioso peregrino ad annum MC collecti*, ed. by J. Smits van Waesberghe, Divitiae musicae artis; series A, 10b (Buren: Knuf, 1979)).

[6] 'Nam haec quidem id est posteriora magis, quolibet, illa autem priora magis, subtili et abundanti intellectu comprehendere est': Aristotle, *Topics* 6.4.141b, quoted in John of Salisbury,

That is to say, while particulars are manifestations of greater abstractions, it is often easier to grasp the particulars than to grasp the abstractions directly. This has obvious ramifications for pedagogy, one of which is the question of whether authority rests primarily in the particular or in the abstract.

Before considering the role of authority in Theinred's treatise, however, it will be necessary to come to grips with the nature of his ideas (many of which are highly original); understanding his contributions to music theory will in turn require a survey of the milieu in which he worked. The essential conflict is that between theory and practice, and the question addressed is whether theory derives from practice or vice versa. The proving ground in this affair will be Gregorian chant.

Background[7]

Music had long been taught as part of the *quadrivium*, in the Roman *scholae* and in their successors, the Christian and monastic schools of the early and central Middle Ages. In the early Christian schools, the emphasis was on *musica speculativa*, based on the musical-theoretical writings of Boethius, St Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorus, and Martianus Capella; only later did the need to train musicians for performance within liturgical contexts give rise to writings con-

Metalogicon, ed. by J. B. Hall, rev. by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, CCCM, 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), p. 97. See the translation and note from John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, trans. by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 136 and n. 420 (though a somewhat more literal translation of the passage is given here).

[7] For fuller treatment than can possibly be provided here, see, *inter multa alia*: Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Mathiesen, 'Greek Music Theory', in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 109–35; Calvin M. Bower, 'The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages', in ibid., pp. 136–67; David M. Cohen, 'Notes, Scales, and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages', in ibid., pp. 307–63; Michel Huglo, 'Grundlagen und Ansätze der mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie von der Spätantike bis zur ottonischen Zeit', in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, ed. by Thomas Ertelt and Frieder Zaminer, 12 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984–), IV: *Die Lehre vom einstimmigen liturgischen Gesang* (2000), pp. 21–102; Charles M. Atkinson, 'Das Tonsystem des Chorals im Spiegel mittelalterlicher Musiktraktate', in ibid., pp. 103–33; Christian Meyer, 'Die Tonartenlehre im Mittelalter', in ibid., pp. 135–215; Nancy Phillips, 'Notation und Notationslehre von Boethius bis zur 12. Jahrhundert', in ibid., pp. 293–623.

cerned with *musica practica*.[8] Practical musicians of the early Middle Ages worked in an oral tradition, the Greek musical notation system having passed out of use even in the Byzantine world.[9] Church musicians were particularly concerned that the large and growing body of liturgical music be transmitted accurately to succeeding generations.[10] To that end, a sophisticated system classifying chants according to mode developed, and notation was created anew, culminating in the staff notation finalized, if not invented, by Guido of Arezzo (early eleventh century). But, as we shall see, the advent of notation served in some instances only to throw the conflict between theory and practice into sharper relief.

Prior to the development of a reliable notation, novice clerics learned the chant repertoire by rote and had to retain it in memory. The rudimentary musical skills, which beginners must master before attempting anything further, are succinctly stated by Hucbald of Saint-Amand (*c.* 840–930) at the outset of his treatise on the subject:

> Anyone eager to be initiated into music, who seeks to attain to some — albeit preliminary — understanding of melody, should give careful attention to the quality, or position, of all the tones. Let him note first which tones are equal and consistently alike; next, which are unequal and are sundry intervals apart, and of those intervals, how great are the separations; and lastly, how many different ways they may be measured off. Let him note, furthermore, from how many sounds, and which ones, all melody is composed; for these are held to be its elements.[11]

[8] See Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 17–31; and Robert W. Wason, '*Musica practica*: Music Theory as Pedagogy', in *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. by Christensen, pp. 46–77, esp. pp. 47–50.

[9] The remark by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.15 (ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911)), 'Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt' (trans. by Strunk, 'Unless sounds are remembered by man, they perish, for they cannot be written down') is often cited as evidence that Isidore did not have access to musical notation. See *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. by Oliver Strunk, trans. by William Strunk, Jr, and Oliver Strunk, rev. and with an introduction by James McKinnon, rev. edn ed. by Leo Treitler (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), p. 149. On Greek music and music theory, see especially Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*.

[10] Scholars have addressed the problem of oral transmission of the chant repertoire many times. Two recent and outstanding studies are Kenneth Levy, 'On Gregorian Orality', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), 185–227; and Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1998).

[11] 'Ad Musicae initiamenta quemlibet ingredientem, qui aliquam scilicet interim cantilenarum percipere intelligentiam quaerit, qualitatem sive positionem quarumcumque vocum diligenter advertere oportebit. Et primo quae sint aequales voces, atque uniformiter sibi similes:

Hucbald proceeds to cite examples from chant for each of the musical intervals.[12] For example, for the semitone, he cites an antiphon, *Missus est Gabriel*, pointing out that semitones occur at the words '*Mariam*' and '*Virginem*'. An example more familiar to modern readers would be the sequence from the Mass for the Dead, *Dies irae*, which begins with a descending semitone, followed immediately by an ascending one. He clearly assumes that his readers will have the cited repertoire firmly in their memories; that is, he uses chant to teach chant.

It is interesting to note that similar pedagogical methods are still in use. It is quite common to teach music students the sounds of the intervals by referring to familiar melodies that use the interval in question either at the beginning or very prominently later. For example, 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and 'Après des siècles / O Vaderland' both begin with a descending minor third; 'O Canada' with an ascending minor third; 'Deutschland über Alles' with an ascending major second (as does 'God Save the Queen', after repeating the initial note); the *Marseillaise* with a note twice repeated, followed by an ascending perfect fourth; and so forth. This rudimentary relationship between the sounds and the names we give them is developed to a much higher degree during the course of musical education, leading to the twin goals of advanced aural and analytical skills. Michael Rogers has characterized the process in the following diagram:[13]

quae deinde inaequales, et quibusdam spatiis a se discrepantes: ipsorum denique spatiorum quanta habeantur discrimina; quotque etiam varietatibus ea moderari contingat. Post et praeterea, quot vel quibus sonis, qui vice habeantur elementorum, tota regatur cantilena': Hucbald, *De harmonica institutione*, in *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum*, ed. by Martin Gerbert (St Blasien, 1784; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), I, 103–21 (p. 104); for translation, see Hucbald, *Melodic Instruction*, trans. by Warren Babb, in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, ed. by Claude Palisca, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 13. Hucbald's treatise appears to be incomplete, breaking off suddenly; Gerbert has confused the matter by running it together with other works, some of which are now known not to be by Hucbald. For more on Hucbald's life and work, see again the essay by Moore above.

[12] A musical interval is, simply, the distance between two pitches. The nomenclature involved, however, is somewhat arcane. Two voices or instruments sounding the same pitch, or one voice repeating a pitch, will produce what is called a *unison* or *prime*. A distance of one step along the scale produces a *second* (either major or minor). Two seconds thus yield a *third*. This peculiar mathematics is the result of not having a zero in the system. It is only in the last hundred years that music theory has begun to use mathematically based systems for interval designation, and then primarily for music using resources beyond the traditional scales.

[13] Michael R. Rogers, *Teaching Approaches in Music Theory: An Overview of Pedagogical Philosophies* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), p. 8.



A somewhat different, though still rote, method arose in the centuries following Hucbald. Singers were trained in fundamentals by matching pitch to an instrument (the monochord; see Figure 23),[14] and in a system of eight modes. They could then use this training to associate the pitches of a chant melody with the scale steps in the system, using a letter notation system. One often-cited treatise employing this approach is the anonymous *Dialogus de musica* (early eleventh century). The prologue does not sell the method short:

> You have insistently requested, beloved brothers, that I should communicate to you a few rules concerning music, these to be only of a sort which boys and simple persons may understand and by means of which, with God's help, they may quickly attain to perfect skill in singing. You asked this, having yourselves seen and heard and having verified by certain evidence that it could be done. Indeed, when I lived among you, I instructed, with no help other than that of God, certain of your boys and young men in this art. Some of them after three days of training in it, others after four days, and others after a single week, were able to learn several antiphons and in a short time to sing them without hesitation, although they had not heard them sung by anyone, but were content simply with a copy written according to our rules. With the passage of not many more days they were singing at first sight, extempore, and without a mistake any written music, something which until now ordinary singers had never been able to do, with many of them continuing in vain to practice and study singing for fifty years.[15]

[14] The monochord was not a musical instrument in the usual sense, but rather a scientific instrument, used in acoustical inquiries at least from the time of the Pythagoreans. It consisted of a single string stretched over a sounding board that had been marked off as a ruler, so that string length could be readily measured. The string was then divided at various points by a movable bridge, and the pitch relationships of the two string segments noted. Thus, it had long been known that the interval of a perfect fifth has a ratio of 3:2 (the string length corresponding to 3 being the lower pitch), that of the perfect fourth 4:3, etc. Among many studies, the following are especially noteworthy: Sigfrid Wantzloeben, *Das Monochord als Instrument und als System, entwicklungsgeschichtlich dargestellt* (Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1911); Cecil D. Adkins, 'The Theory and Practice of the Monochord' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1963); Christian Meyer, *Mensura Monochordi: la division du monochorde (IX^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996); and Jan Herlinger, 'Medieval Canonics', in *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. by Christensen, pp. 168–92.

[15] 'Petistis obnixe, karissimi fratres, quatenus paucas vobis de Musica regulas traderem, atque eas tantummodo, quas et pueri vel simplices sufficiant capere, quibusque ad cantandi perfectam peritiam velociter, Deo adjuvante, valeant pervenire. Quod ideo petistis, quia posse fieri ipsi audistis et vidistis, certisque indiciis comprobastis. Vobiscum quippe positus tantum cooperante Deo per hanc artem quosdam vestros pueros ac juvenes docui, ut alii ex eis triduo,

In this passage we can see that the seat of authority in chant had shifted from memory of the music itself to external loci: the written representations of chant, and the monochord.[16] The monochord (in both real and virtual senses) looms large in later medieval music theory, in part because the tuning practice it entailed did not include all of the pitches actually found in Gregorian chant (see Figure 23).[17]

Medieval music theory was founded on that of the Greeks, filtered primarily through Boethius.[18] By the late tenth century, medieval theorists had largely

alii quatriduo, quidam vero unius hebdomadae spatio hac arte exercitati, quam plures antiphonas, non audientes ab aliquo, sed regulari tantummodo descriptione contenti per se discerent et post modicum indubitanter proferrent. Non multis preterea evolutis diebus primo intuitu et ex improviso, quicquid per musicas notas descriptum erat, sine vitio decantabant; quod hactenus communes cantores [numquam] facere potuerunt dum plurimi eorum quinquaginta jam annis in canendi usu et studio inutiliter permanserunt': Michel Huglo, 'Der Prolog des Odo zugeschriebenen "Dialogus de Musica"', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 28 (1971), 134–46 (p. 138). That the omission of 'numquam' from Huglo's text is an unfortunate printing error is clear from the fact that he includes it when quoting the passage later in the same article (p. 144). The Prologue and the *Dialogus* itself, the latter long attributed to Odo of Cluny, were written by different authors, both working in northern Italy in the first part of the eleventh century. The text of the Prologue and the *Dialogus* may also be found in *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*, ed. by Gerbert, I, 251–64; this passage is on p. 251. Translation from *Source Readings*, ed. by Strunk, trans. by Strunk, Jr, and Strunk, rev. and with an introduction by McKinnon, rev. edn ed. by Treitler, pp. 198–210 (p. 199).

[16] I am deeply indebted to Sarah Fuller for her insights into the issue of authority in medieval theory treatises, which she shared at the Institute for Historical Music Theory, held at the Mannes College of Music, New York, 9–12 June 2001. Any errors or misapplications of these ideas are of course my responsibility.

[17] Fogliano, *Musica Theorica*, fols 12^{v}, 13^{r}, 13^{v}, 14^{r} (misnumbered as 19), 14^{v} and 39^{r}. The letters in all of the diagrams represent points on a line, in the order determined by the various operations; the letters do *not* correspond to the pitches commonly associated with them. See also Vienna, Nazionalbibliothek, MS 51, fol 35^{v}, which gives an illustration purporting to be of Guido himself demonstrating the monochord for Archbishop Theodaldus. In that drawing, the monochord is marked with letters that do correspond to the musical scale, running two octaves and a step from *G* (Gamma) to a^{1}. This drawing is reproduced in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), X, 523; Karl Michael Komma, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1961), p. 29; and *A History of Music in Pictures*, ed. by Georg Kinsky, with an Introduction by Eric Blom (New York: Dover, 1951), p. 37.

[18] Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *De institutione musica*, ed. by Godofredus Friedlein (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867); *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. by Calvin M. Bower, Yale Music Theory in Translation Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

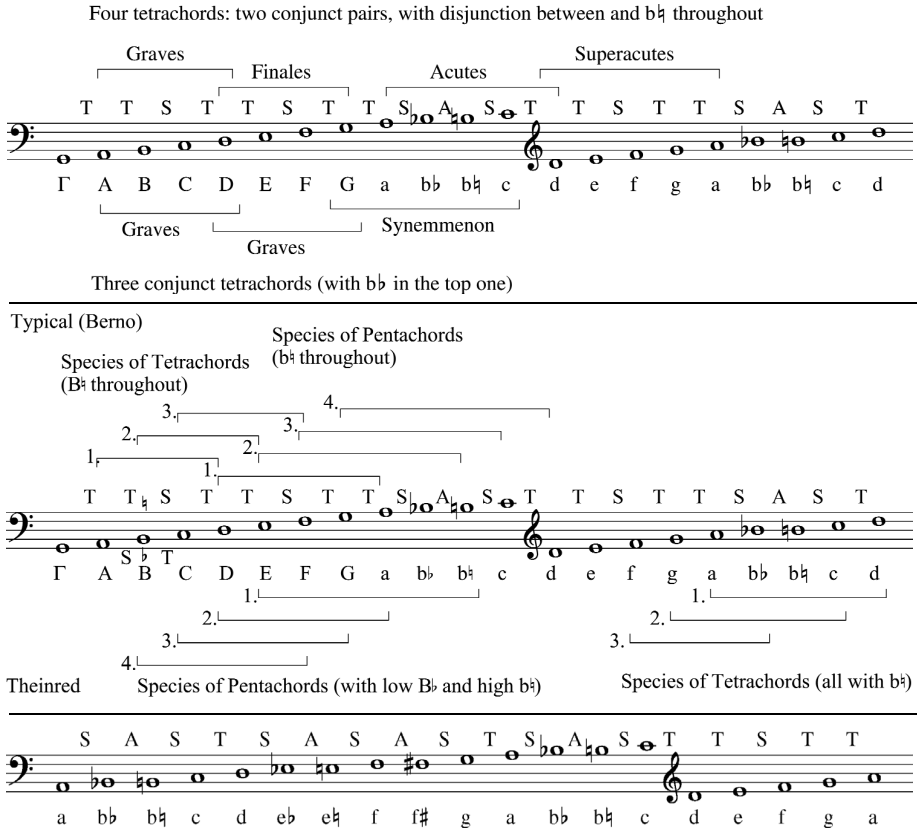
agreed on a gamut[19] of twenty-one (later twenty-two) pitches. Example 1a shows this gamut in both modern staff notation and in letter notation, as in Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*, from the early eleventh century.[20] This gamut contains three sizes of intervals between successive notes: the tone (T; 'tone', i.e. major second), the semitone (S; 'half-step' (strictly speaking the minor semitone, as it is slightly less than half a tone), i.e. minor second), and the apothome or major semitone (a 'chromatic semitone' (the difference between a tone and a minor semitone), i.e. augmented prime). The apothome never occurs between successive notes in Gregorian chant, and will not concern us further here. Medieval music theory further organized pitch into a system of eight modes, grouped in pairs; these will not figure heavily in this discussion.

Guido is credited with the final development of staff notation (essentially our modern notation, with respect to pitch; see Figures 24 and 25),[21] and with the

[19] The word 'gamut' is derived from the words *gamma* and *ut*. The former is of course the Greek letter, used to designate the pitch *G* at the lower end of the medieval pitch system; the latter is the solmization syllable associated with that pitch (and with others), corresponding roughly to 'do' in modern solfège systems (except in French-speaking countries, where 'ut' is still used).

[20] Guido Aretinus, *Micrologus*, ed. by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, 4 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955). A translation is available by Warren Babb in *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, pp. 57–83. The tetrachord of the *finales* is so called because it comprises the four normal final pitches of the eight modes (which are organized as pairs); the tetrachord *synemmenon* is from the ancient Greek Lesser Perfect System, and refers to the fact that this tetrachord is joined conjunctly with its neighbour. (This is the means of generating B-flat in the system; for much of the earlier Middle Ages, the very word *synemmenon* is used simply to mean 'B-flat'.) The names of the other tetrachords are self-explanatory. Note that the flat sign is a rounded 'b' and the natural sign a square one; in the central and later Middle Ages, the terms are 'b molle' or 'b rotundum' for the former, and 'b durum' or 'b quadratum' for the latter. These terms have descendants in modern languages: in French 'bemolle' means 'flat' ('re bemolle' is 'D-flat'); in German, 'moll' and 'dur' designate minor and major keys (the essential difference lies in the fact that in minor, the third scale degree is an apothome lower than in major). Thus 'G-moll' is 'G minor' (the third degree is B-flat) and 'G-dur' is 'G major' (the third degree is B-natural); the terms have been generalized to refer to the major and minor modes of all keys.

[21] Guido's original idea was to indicate the pitches F and C by lines coloured red and yellow, respectively. Scribes found this cumbersome and soon abandoned it in favour of simply writing a letter to designate a line as *f* or *c*^{1}. (See Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, 'The Musical Notation of Guido of Arezzo', *Musica Disciplina*, 5 (1951), 15–54.) Figure 24 shows the opening of the Introit for the third Sunday after Christmas, *Adorate deum*, as it appears in the tenth-century St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 339. Note that musical markings ('neumes') are given above the text but without staff lines; this notation would serve as a memory aid, but cannot



Examples 1a (top), 1b (middle), 1c (bottom).

formulation of the solmization (solfège) scheme used for the remainder of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and which is the ancestor of modern solfège systems. To him also was ascribed (apparently falsely) the invention of a mnemonic device, the 'Guidonian hand' (see Figure 26). Each of these acquired some degree of authority of its own, but the invention of notation was the most radical, and the change from an oral to a written tradition had the most profound influence on the teaching of music and the transmission of the Gregorian repertoire.[22]

be read directly. Figure 25 shows the same Introit as it appears in the thirteenth-century *Graduale Sarisburiense*.

[22] Much has been written about the change from oral to literate culture during the central Middle Ages; space prevents even a superficial review of that literature. The problem for music

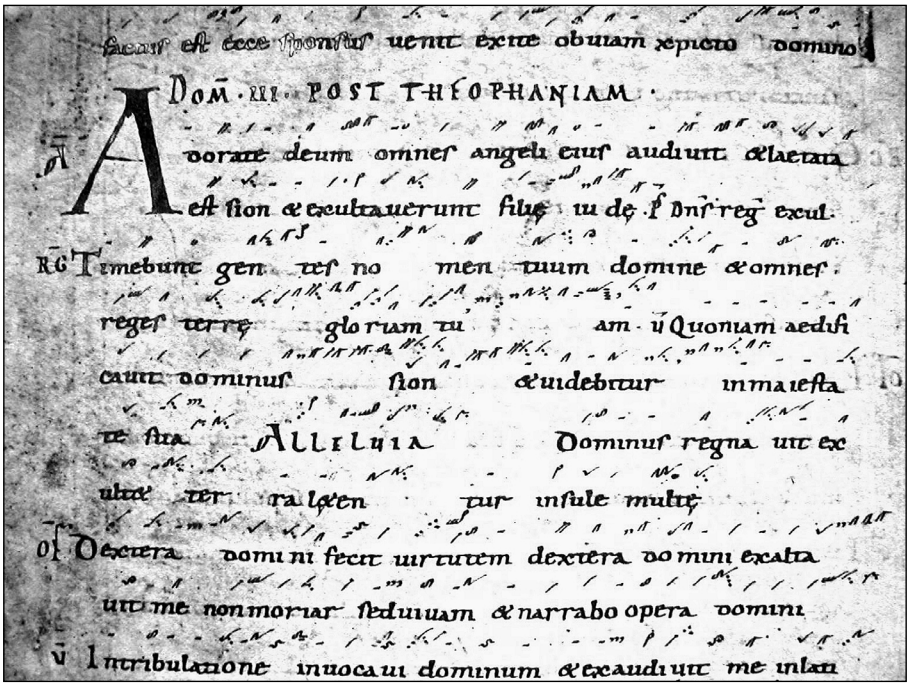


Figure 24. 'Le Codex 339 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall', *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. I (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1889), p. 24.

is rather more complicated, in that music is a non-representational language, and the development of written forms for it has been problematic for all cultures that have attempted it. It has become common in musicology to speak in terms of *oral*, *written*, and *literate* transmission of music. The first is self-explanatory; the second refers to notation that serves as an aid to memory, but from which one cannot learn the music directly; and the last to notation that provides sufficient information for a properly trained musician to learn the music without other recourse. (Figures 24 and 25, respectively, illustrate written and literate transmission.) See Leo Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 471–91. Concerning some relevant philological issues in medieval writings on music, two notable articles are Anne-Marie Bautier-Regnier, 'A propos des sens de *neumes* et de *nota* en latin médiéval', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 18 (1964), 1–9; and Blair Sullivan, 'Nota and Notula: Boethian Semantics and the Written Representation of Musical Sound in Carolingian Treatises', *Musica Disciplina*, 47 (1993), 71–97. For a recent study on this matter, with a detailed consideration of why so many of the important developments occurred during the eleventh century, see Susan Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 99–168.
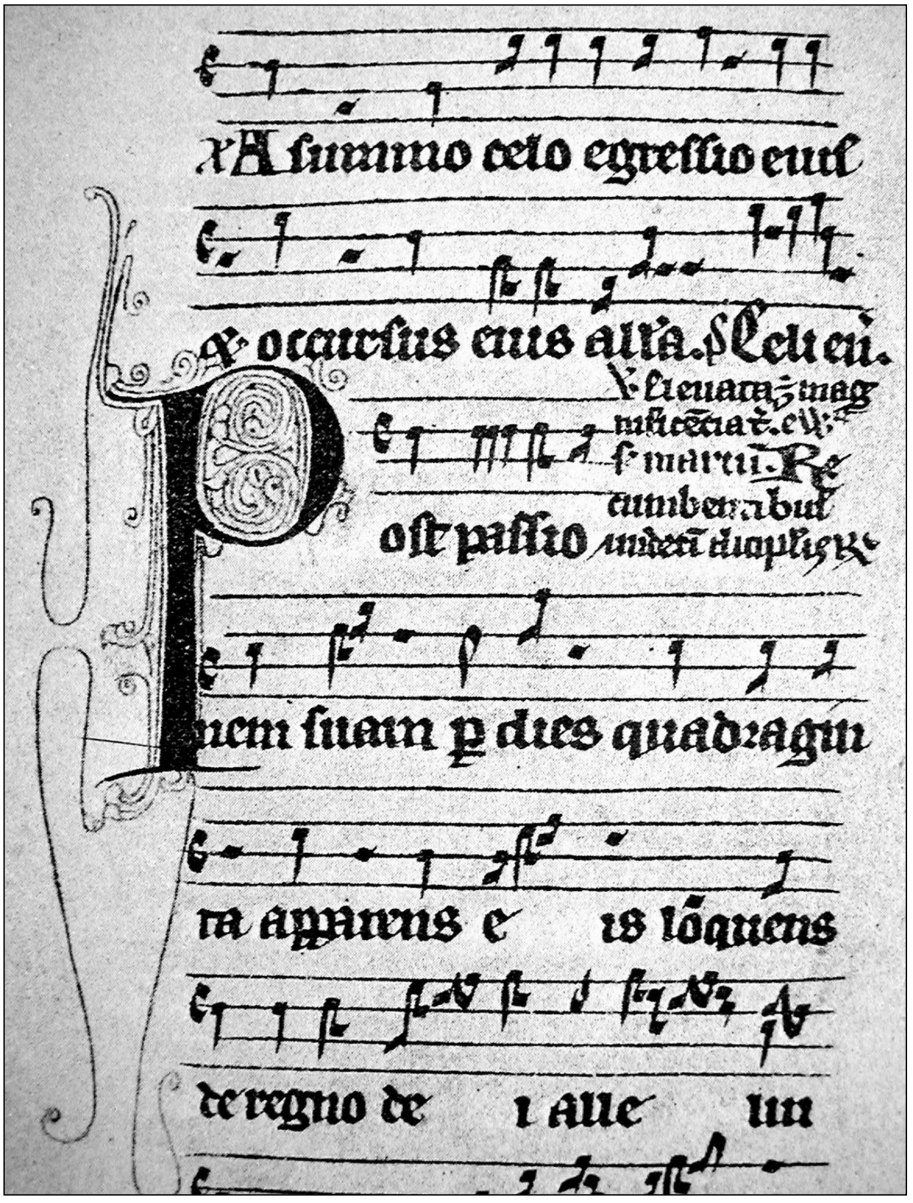


Figure 25. *Graduale Sarisburiennse: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating its Development from the Gregorian 'Antiphonale Missarum', by Walter Howard Frere* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1894), p. 23.

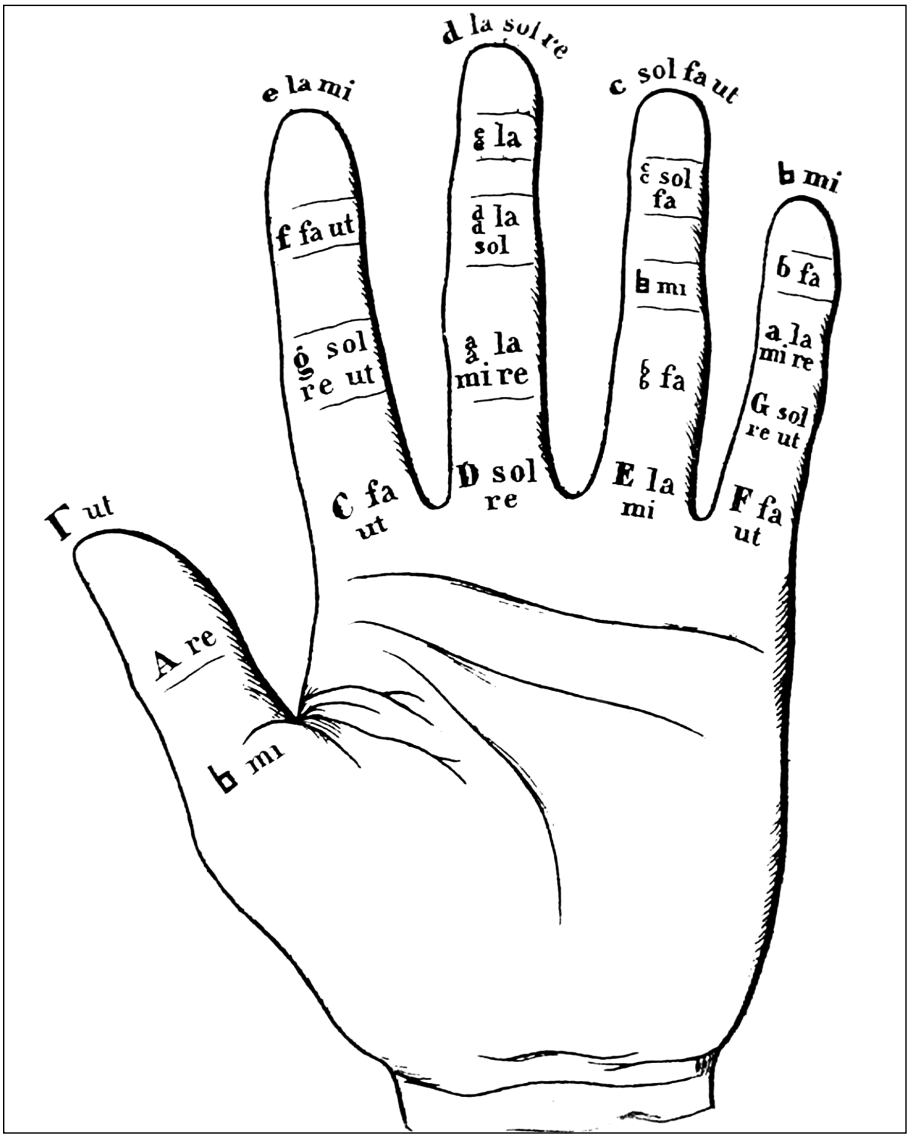


Figure 26. The 'Guidonian Hand', from Jerome of Moravia (Ieronimus de Moravia), *Tractatus de Musica*, ed. by Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii ævi novam seriem a Gerbertia alteram*, vol. I (Paris: A. Durand, 1864), p. 21

With the change in authority, the non-conforming melodies came to be regarded as corrupt. And the shift from an aural tradition to a written one exacerbated the problem of non-conforming melodies: attempts to represent the music in notation threw the non-conformity of these melodies (or passages) into sharper relief than ever before.

Much ink was spilled in the central Middle Ages over chants that did not fit into the system — that is, chants that violated either the gamut or the modal classification system in some way. The early tenth century theorist Regino of Prüm, for example, dealt at length with some two dozen *cantus nothi*, which he describes as, 'antiphons which [. . .] we call illegitimate and degenerate, which begin in one mode, are in another in the middle, and are ended in a third'.[23] This particular problem will not concern us here, but that of the so-called *coniunctae* will: some chants included notes outside the accepted gamut, notably E-flat and F-sharp; C-sharp and A-flat are also mentioned in a few treatises. Interestingly, direct discussion of the *coniunctae* begins in the last third of the fourteenth century, well after a written means of transmission had been developed for Gregorian chant. The problem, however, had been recognized much earlier. Berno of Reichenau (d. 1048) addresses this issue with particular clarity:

> In order to illustrate this more clearly, let us take as an example the following antiphons of the fourth mode: *Factus sum*, *O mors ero*, *Sion renovaberis*, *Sion noli timere*, and *Vade iam*. If you try to begin these antiphons on g, a third above their [proper] final [that is, e] your melody will be defective because you will not find a semitone at the place where it should be. If, however, you consider the tone a [as a final] and if, through the interposition of the b-flat and b-natural, you begin these antiphons on c′, you will notice that the entire melody can be sung without damage, until it closes on the associate final a.[24]

[23] 'Antiphonae, quas [. . .] degeneras et non legitimas appelamus, quae ab uno tono incipiunt, alterius sunt in medio, et in tertio finiuntur': Regino Prumiensis, *Epistola de Harmonica*, in *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*, ed. by Gerbert, I, 231. Translation from Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity*, p. 228. Two of Karp's essays in this book (V and VI, pp. 181–269) are particularly germane to the present study. See also Charles M. Atkinson, 'From "Vitium" to "Tonus aquisitus": On the Evolution of the Notational Matrix of Medieval Chant', in *Cantus Planus: International Musicological Society Study Group: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1990), pp. 181–95.

[24] 'Ut enim hoc clarius elucescat, ex quarto tono ponamus haec sub exemplo. Ant. *factus sum*. Ant. *o mors ero*. Ant. *Sion renovab*. Ant. *Sion noli timere*. Ant. *Vade iam*. Si has antiphonas tertio a finali loco, id est, a lichanos meson incipere volueris, in modulando deficis, dum semitonium, ubi esse debuit, minime reperis. Sin autem quartum locum, id est mese, attendas, ac interposito

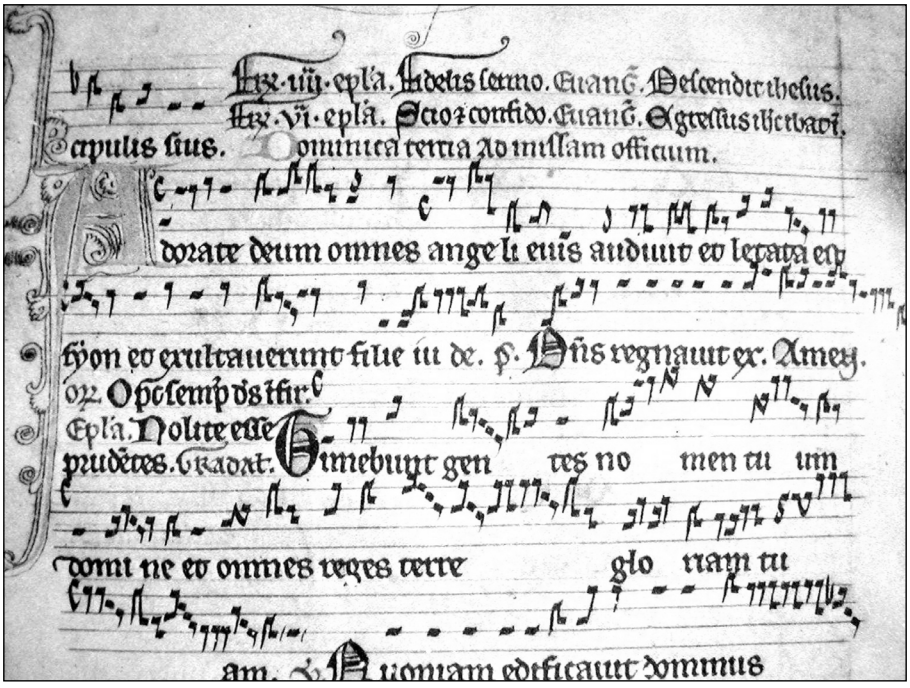


Figure 27. 'Le Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque de Lucques: Antiphonaire Monastique (XII[e] siècle)', *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. IX (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1906), p. 245.

Berno's solution will work when a chant has only one chromatic inflection, or when it has two inflections exactly an octave apart. In cases where the chant includes, for example, the seven natural pitches plus B-flat and E-flat, medieval music theory fails. The net result is that many chants were 'emended' to 'correct' what theorists saw as 'defects'. In other cases, scribes found ways to notate these chromatic alterations indirectly, usually by transposing segments of chants so that the E-flat/E-natural pair could be written as B-flat/B-natural, in spite of where it was actually sung. And likewise for the other *coniunctae*.

primum semitonio in synemmenon, deinde tono, sicque tertio loco, hoc est, paranete synemmenon, easdem inchoaveris, totam cantilenam absque sui laesione videbis decurrere, donec ad finalis sui comparem, id est, mese eam contingat in fine pervenire': Berno of Reichenau, *Prologus in tonarium cum tonario*, ed. by Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, 75. Translation by Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 162. Berno used the ancient Greek pitch names; Apel has simplified matters by replacing them with modern equivalents.

As an example of this problem, let us consider the antiphon *Post passionem suam*, assigned to the first Nocturne of Matins for Ascension (see Figures 27 and 28).[25] Examples 2a–c give three (non-continuous) excerpts of this antiphon, in eight readings taken from sources of varied provenance. The musicians who wrote this antiphon down were obviously faced with something out of the ordinary, for they found it necessary to start the antiphon on different pitches, as Berno had suggested. Furthermore, they tried not just two starting pitches, but three — and the starting pitch of *b-flat* given in the Metz antiphoner is highly unusual if not unique. The phrase beginning at the words '*Et videntibus*' (Example 2b) likewise begins at three pitch levels, but cadences (at '*est*') on only two different pitches. During this phrase, some adjustments have been made, especially in the Metz antiphoner, to change the location of the notated semitones. As Example 2c shows, these two pitch levels are retained in the sources to the end of the antiphon. All of this suggests very strongly that the melody as originally sung included more chromatic alterations than the officially accepted system did, and that the notation was manipulated to encode these alterations indirectly.

Theinred of Dover

Theinred of Dover, writing apparently in the second third of the twelfth century, addressed this issue. Theinred is not otherwise definitely known, although he has been speculatively identified with a Tenredus whom John of Salisbury mentions as a grammarian in his *Metalogicon*.[26] Theinred's treatise, *De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum*, survives in a single copy, MS Bodley 842, fols 1–44^{v}. It is organized in three books, with a *Proœmium*. Book I deals primarily with musical fundamentals, particularly with the mathematical bases of tuning, and depends largely on Boethius. Book II concerns itself with the issue of consonance and dissonance. Theinred is here in the vanguard in suggesting that the intervals of the thirds and sixths may be considered consonant. Book III, which

[25] Figure 27 is a twelfth-century source in which both letters and coloured lines are used (in the latter respect thus resembling Guido's original idea). The other lines are not inked at all, but are marked in the parchment with a dry stylus, and are thus difficult or impossible to see in photographic reproduction. Figure 28 is a century later.

[26] John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 1.14, p. 33. Evidence to be introduced in this essay will suggest that the identification may well be valid. The identification was first suggested by C. C. J. Webb, 'Tenredus of Dover', *English Historical Review*, 30 (1915), 658–60.

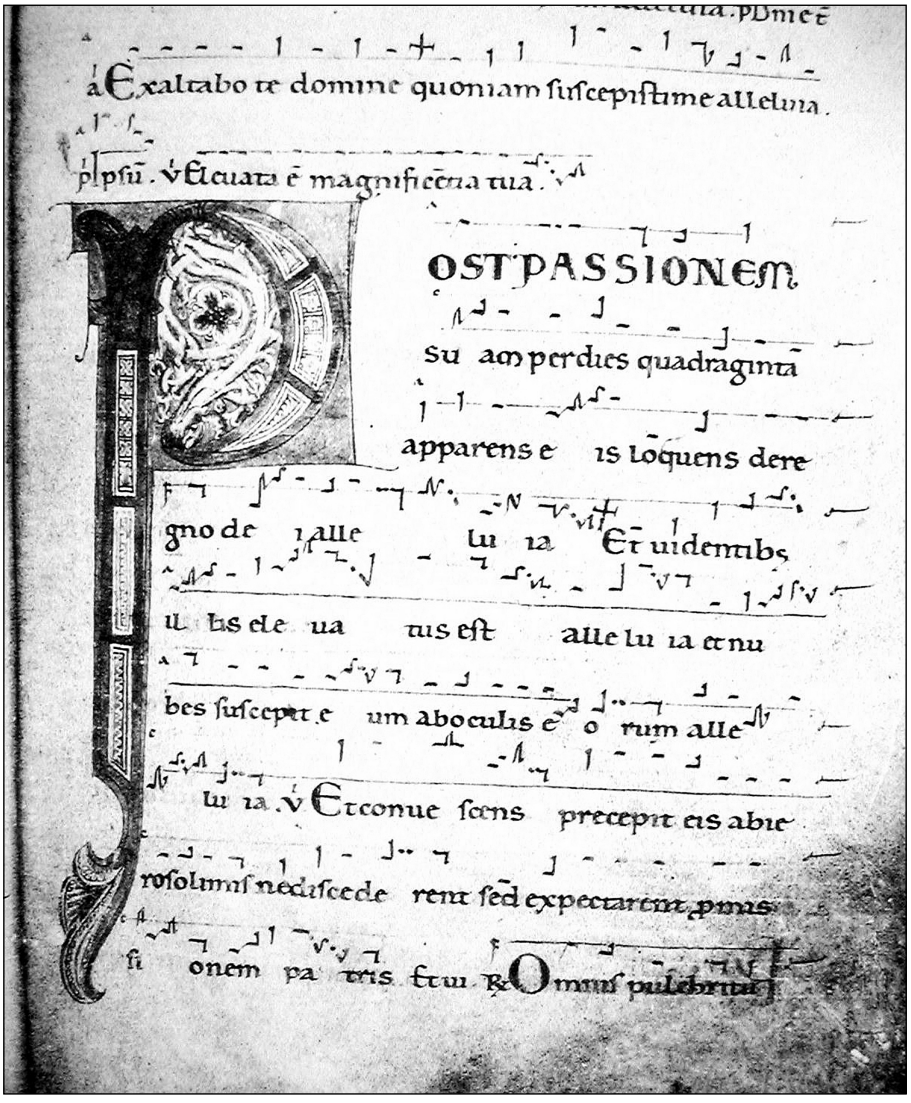
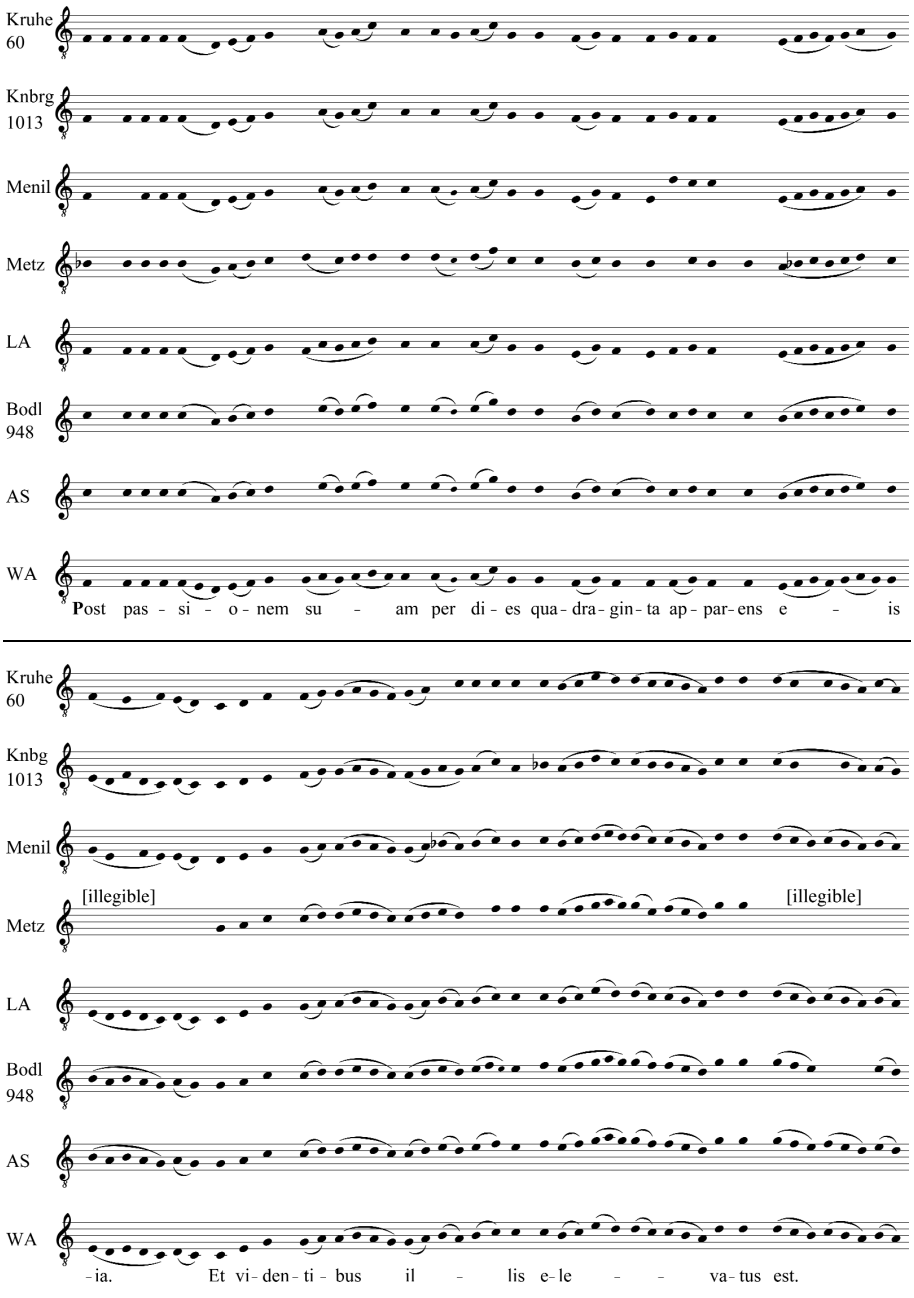
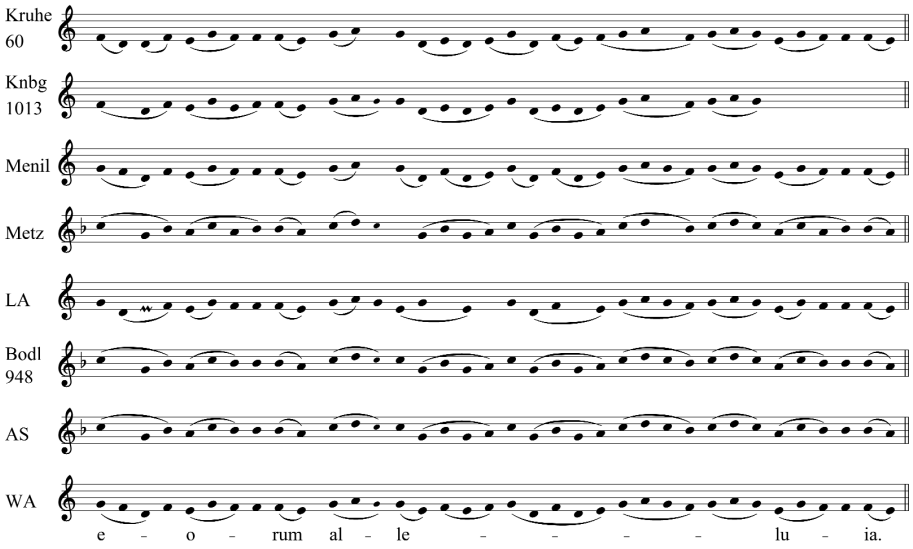


Figure 28. *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile from Early Manuscripts with a Dissertation and Analytical Index by Walter Howard Frere,* 6 vols (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901–25; repr., 1966), III, 268.



Examples 2a (top) and 2b (bottom).



Example 2c.

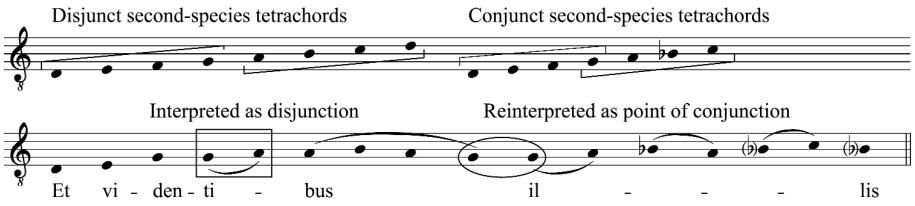
comprises about half of the treatise, thoroughly reworks species theory[27] and moves on to present an elaborate scheme for classifying chants (or any other melodies) not on the basis of modes, but on the basis of the number and relative locations of any chromatic alterations required. Indeed, the treatise is noteworthy for its omission of any mention of the modal system.

As Theinred says at the very opening of the *Proœmium*, 'there is frequent dissension among musicians concerning those chants that, having in one octochord several relocations of the semitones, are not admitted to the order of pentachords of the Guidonian system'.[28] And the very title of the treatise, *On the Legitimate Orders of Pentachords and Tetrachords*, suggests that he will address the problem by rethinking species theory.

[27] 'Species' of intervals are segments of the gamut, bounded by the interval in question. They differ according to the placement of the tone(s) and semitone(s). Manipulation of these species formed no small part of ancient and medieval music theory. See further below.

[28] 'Musicorum de hiis cantibus frequens est dissentio qui in uno octochordo plures semitoniorum habentes transpositiones in ordinem pentachordorum Guydonice distinctionis non admittuntur': Theinred of Dover, *De legitimis*, MS Bodley 842, fol. 1r. See John L. Snyder, *Theinred of Dover's 'De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetracordorum': A Critical Text and Translation with an Introduction, Annotations, and Indices* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, forthcoming 2006)

To illustrate Theinred's term 'relocation of the semitones', let us examine briefly a phrase from *Post passionem suam*. Example 3 gives the beginning of the phrase at '*Et videntibus*' in the reading found in the Menil antiphoner.



Example 3.

The first eight notes fit the 'white-key' collection, so that we have semitones at *e–f* and *b–c*^{1}. At '*illis*', however, the *b-flat* is introduced, so that the semitones now fall at *e* to *f* and *a* to *b-flat*. Medieval theory and notational practice encompassed this change, but further alterations would exceed that capacity of the system. And, returning to this phrase as presented in Example 2b, we can see that the question arises as to whether *e-flat*^{1} is implied, to create the parallel semitone above *d*^{1} (for example, as in Metz and the *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*). This is, apparently, a case of indirect notation of pitches outside the gamut, as was suggested above. Theinred in fact states that this chant required two relocations of the semitones, with the E-natural/E-flat alteration above the B-natural/B-flat one.[29] Unfortunately, he does not write out any of the chants he cites, leaving us with the task of reconstructing them as best we can, in the manner suggested above.[30] In other such cases, melodies were deliberately altered to fit the Procrustean bed of medieval music theory. In at least one instance, a problematic note (either an *e* or an *e-flat*) was removed from a manuscript with a pen-knife.[31]

[29] Theinred of Dover, *De legitimis*, III.xiv.a and III.xxiii.e (MS Bodley 842, fols. 35^{r} and 42^{v}).

[30] This method of inquiry was pioneered by Gustave Jacobsthal, *Die chromatische Alteration im liturgischen Gesang der abendländischen Kirche* (Berlin: Springer, 1897). A similar approach was also used (apparently independently) by Dominique Delalande, 'L'insuffisance du système d'écriture guidonien, ou l'existence de plusieurs notes mobiles dans le système grégorien', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra* (Tournai: Desclée, 1952), pp. 202–06.

[31] In *Propter veritatem* (the Graduale for the Solemnity of the Most Holy Rosary), at the word 'dextera', in the *Graduale Sarisburiense*, plate s. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. lit. d. 3, fol 89^{v}). See also Finn Egeland Hansen's discussion of this chant in *The Grammar of Gregorian Tonality: An Investigation Based on the Repertory in Codex H 159 Montpellier* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog, 1979), pp. 220–21.

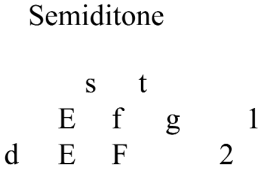
Early medieval music theorists had constructed the gamut as a series of tetrachords, that is, groups of four notes, with the interval pattern tone-semitone-tone. This tetrachord was called 'first species'. The gamut then consisted of four of these, beginning from *A*, the first two and the last two being conjunct, with a disjunction in the middle (between *G* and *a*); see Example 1a. The note Gamma was later added at the bottom, and there was further expansion at the top as well.[32] The *b-flat* was introduced, in theory, by making the third tetrachord from the bottom conjunct with the second, rather than disjunct. The other species of tetrachords were created by shifting the framing interval of a perfect fourth upwards along the gamut (Example 1b). The second species, therefore, runs *e-f-g-a* (intervals S-T-T) and the third tetrachord *f-g-a-b-flat* (intervals T-T-S). The pentachords are similarly arranged (see Examples 1 and 4). The arbitrary nature of this is obvious.

Ancient theory	Medieval theory	Theinred of Dover
tetrachords descending	tetrachords ascending	tetrachords ascending
1 *g-d* TST	1 *A-d* TST	1 B-E STT
2 *a-e* TTS	2 *B-e* STT	2 A-D TST
3 *c′-g* STT	3 *c-f* TTS	3 G-C TTS
	4 *d-g* TST (Aribo)	
pentachords descending	pentachords ascending	pentachords ascending
1 *a-d* TTST	1 *d-a* TSTT	1 E-B STTT
2 *b-e* TTTS	2 *e-b* STTT	2 D-A TSTT
3 *c′-f* STTT	2 *f-c′* TTTS	3 C-G TTST
4 *d′-g* TSTT	4 *g-d′* TTST	4 B♭-F TTTS

Example 4.

Instead of using the species of tetrachords and pentachords as measuring sticks to divide a pre-existing gamut, Theinred builds his system from the bottom up. He begins with the species of semiditone (three-note units spanning a minor third), which have only two combinations: ST and TS (see Example 5).

[32] The ancestor of the gamut, the Immutable Perfect System of the Greeks, had been constructed from tetrachords of the pattern tone-tone-semitone (*descending*) from a^1, with the low *A* as an added note.



Example 5.

He proceeds through larger and larger collections, systematically: the first species of any collection is that in which the semitone is the first interval, the second species is that in which it is the second interval, etc. One interesting and significant point here is that, while the ancient and usual medieval species of tetrachords and pentachords shift upwards along the gamut, Theinred's species shift *downwards*.

Larger collections are built by combining smaller ones, yielding collections with more than one semitone. The familiar octave species, for example, are made by combining the species of pentachords and tetrachords conjunctly, and again systematically: the first octave species comprises the first pentachord and first tetrachord (ascending order), the second octave species the second pentachord and second tetrachord, and so on. At the fourth species, the order must be reversed (first tetrachord plus first pentachord). The seventh species is made by combining the hitherto neglected fourth species of pentachord with the third species of tetrachord. The advantage of this is clear: the species of any interval can be easily recognized at any transposition, simply by noting the location(s) of the semitone(s).[33] Compound species are vital to the creation of the chant classification system that Theinred promises, but they will not figure further into this essay.

Not far into Book III, Theinred had laid out a gamut of his own, consisting of a single octave (A–A), with three chromatic tones (B-flat, E-flat, and F-sharp).[34] Even Theinred's chromatically expanded gamut, however, cannot accommodate all of the species logically produced by his theory. The way in which these species exceed his gamut, and Theinred's method of presenting them, reveals an important influence on Theinred's logical background. The species of the *diapente cum tono* (major sixth), for example, are given in two forms: the first is called 'prior', and presents the species in order, but only as interval patterns (i.e. without pitch names). The second is called 'posterior', and presents the species in pitch names, but must be disordered so that the limited pitch resources can be stretched to fit (Examples 6a and 6b). In Theinred's words, 'Because the order of notes of the tetrachord does not accommodate an

[33] For a detailed discussion of Theinred's species theory, see John L. Snyder, 'A Road Not Taken: Theinred of Dover's Theory of Species', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115 (1990), 145–81.

[34] Theinred of Dover, *De legitimis*, MS Bodley 842, fol. 24^{r}.

order of structure, as there is a dissonance, let there be a correct disposition, without notes, and following it another, with notes but disordered'.[35] Such arrangements are needed for the orders of species of several intervals, and some of the tables are explicitly labelled 'ordo prior' or 'ordo posterior'. This could refer simply to the order in which they appear in the treatise, but that seems unlikely in view of the fact that the sequence is sometimes reversed, and in some cases the posterior ordo is not given (see below). The absence of posterior orders for some intervals is possibly due to scribal error, but much more likely due to the fact that several of these would exceed even Theinred's expanded pitch universe. Example 7a gives the species of the diapente-plus-ditone, as interval patterns; I have supplied Example 7b (which is not in the treatise). The required G-flat and D-sharp are truly unthinkable in conventional medieval music theory. Since the terms are consistently associated with the content of the tables, that is, with ordered presentations as interval patterns being prior and disordered presentations in notes being posterior, it seems far more probable that Theinred is employing the terms in their Aristotelian senses.

Theinred would have had ready access to Aristotelian thought, if not directly, then indirectly through John of Salisbury. In the *Metalogicon*, John says that 'More general things are, in themselves, prior, for they are also understood in other things; while particular things are posterior'.[36] He then quotes from Aristotle's *Topics*, as noted above, 'Generally what is *posterior* is [perceptible] to anyone, whereas the comprehension of what is *prior* is reserved to the more profound and learned intellect'.[37] Finally, he sums the matter up, by writing, 'Whence, even though it is true that what is posterior is best defined by what is prior, and this is always more scientific, still, frequently, of necessity, and to provide subject matter within the ken of our senses, what is prior is actually explained by what is posterior'.[38] Theinred's tables are clearly an application of this

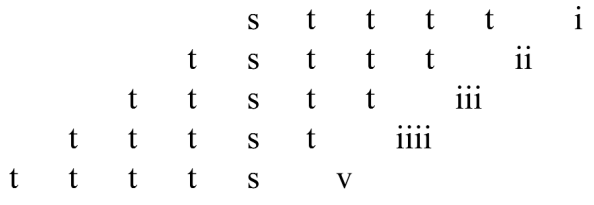
[35] 'Quia notularum ordo tetrachordalis non recipit ordinem compositionis cum dissonantia sit, sit recta dispositio sine notulis, alia secundum, inordinabilis, cum notulis': Theinred of Dover, *De legitimis*, III.vii.e, MS Bodley 842, fol. 25^{r}.

[36] 'Quae autem communiora sunt, et priora quidem simpliciter. Nam et in aliis intelliguntur. Quae uero singularia, posteriora': John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 2.20, p. 96, following the translation by McGarry, p. 136.

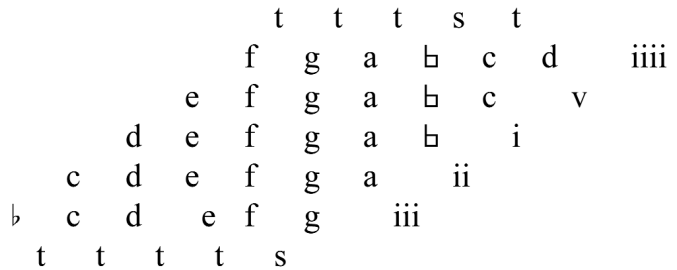
[37] See above, note 6.

[38] 'Vnde licet per priora melius fiat assignatio posteriorum, et disciplinabilius sit hoc ubique temptare, urgente tamen necessitate ob impotentiam sensuum priorum saepe fit per posteriora explanatio': John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 2.20, p. 97; trans. by McGarry, p. 136.

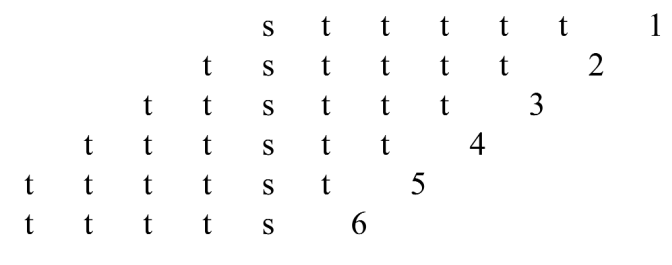
Diapente-plus-tone
Prior Order



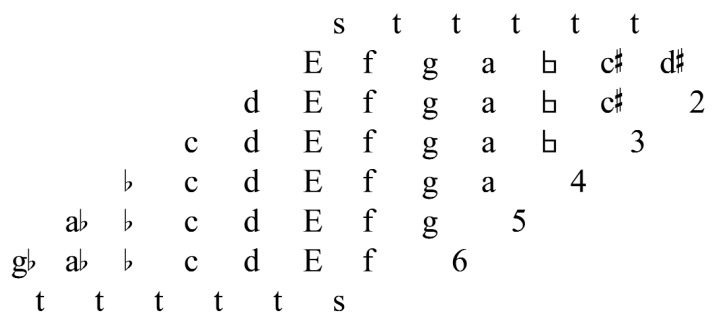
Diapente-plus-tone
Posterior Order



Diapente-plus-ditone
[Prior Order]



Diapente-plus-ditone
Posterior Order [*supplevi*]



Examples 6a (top left), 6b (top right), 7a (bottom left), and 7b (bottom right).

principle. His 'prior orders' are abstract and based on principle; the 'posterior orders' are concrete and based on sounds. The discussion of this matter in the *Metalogicon* indicates that, by the mid-twelfth century, an Englishman no longer needed to travel abroad to learn this mode of thinking.

The suggested identification of Theinred with John's Tenredus is further strengthened by careful consideration of the basic propositions each advanced. Of Tenredus, John says,

> [Grammar] has, at nature's bidding, limited the number of elementary vowel-sounds to five among all peoples, even though with many [peoples] the number of written symbols may be greater. At the same time, our friend Tenredus, a grammarian who has more scientific knowledge than he has been given credit for, has demonstrated that the number of elementary sounds is even greater. According to him, if one carefully notes the differences of vowel sounds, one will observe that they are seven.[39]

First, it is clear that John's Tenredus is concerned with the part of language we call *phonetics* rather than *grammar*; a corresponding interest in music, as another 'science of sound', thus seems quite natural. Seen in this light, the parallelism with Theinred's theory is obvious: he claims, in essence, that even though there are only seven letters assigned to pitch names (per octave), if one listens carefully, one will hear that there are ten different sounds.

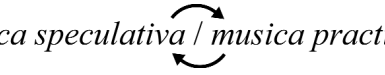
Both Theinred and Tenredus (if they were not the same person) challenged authority, placing primary emphasis on empirical observation and ensuing logic, rather than on received wisdom. Theinred stood conventional species theory quite on its head in his reworking of it, but more than that, he chose to make theory explain practice rather than regulate it. That is, in his view, the integrity of the artwork achieves a kind of authority of its own. He claims that his theory is based not on mere authority, but on reason, warning his reader at the end of the *Proœmium*, 'If, therefore, you find anything here astonishing to you and at odds with the opinions of the ancients, let quick judgement be restrained, seeking what reason teaches rather than presuming what naked and poorly defended authority teaches'.[40] The words that Theinred uses, *munitus* and *auctoritas*,

[39] 'Vnde et ad eius [naturae] nutum uocalium numerum apud omnes gentes quantum ad elementa spectat, quinario inclusit. Nam apud plerosque figurarum numerus multiplicior est. Tenredus tamen noster grammaticus scientia quam opinione potentior, etiam in sonis elementariis ampliorem numerum conuincebat. Si enim attendantur uocum (ut ait) differentiae, septem sunt': John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 1.14, p. 33; trans. by McGarry, p. 39.

[40] 'Si igitur hic aliquis tibi mirum et ab antiquorum sententiis dissidens reperis, festinum cohibeto iudicium, exspectans potius quid ratio edoceat, quam presumens quod nuda nec bene munita auctoritas': Theinred of Dover, *De legitimis*, MS Bodley 842, fols 1^{v}–2^{r}.

appear together quite regularly in medieval Latin.[41] But, with precious few exceptions, it is not *auctoritas* that needs to be fortified; rather, *auctoritas* — often that of *ecclesia* — provides the fortification. Theinred has once again shown himself to be outside the mainstream in his relationship to authority. And the closest parallel I have yet found comes from the pen of another Englishman, Adelard of Bath — also associated with the intellectual coterie surrounding John of Salisbury — who asks 'What is authority to be called but a halter?'[42] Surely he and Theinred were on common ground.

Although Theinred was highly sceptical of authority, he could not operate completely without it. Indeed, the question, for Theinred, Adelard, and everyone else, was (and remains) not whether to recognize authority, but rather what authority to recognize. In treating questions of natural history, Adelard's ultimate authority is empirical observation of the universe. For Theinred, the source of music theory is empirical observation of the musical repertoire in question (in this case, Gregorian chant), making his ultimate authority the music itself. He thus succeeds in blending the approaches of the formerly distinct types of treatise, *musica practica* and *musica speculativa*,[43] in a manner that we may characterize (with a bow to Rogers) as follows:



Though his treatise is certainly medieval in character, in at least this respect it has a surprisingly modern ring.

In questioning authority, Theinred allied himself with more than Adelard. Though he addressed his pupil Alfred in amatory terms, as noted above, he also

[41] To take only three examples, scattered through time and the *PL*, which illustrate a general tendency to place these Latin words in proximity to one another: 'priscae consuetudinis et plenarii concilii **auctoritate munita** sit' ('it is fortified by the authority of ancient custom and many councils'): Augustine, *Contra Donatistas Libri Septem*, *PL* 43, cols 107–244 (col. 223); 'Scripturae concordiam, **auctoritate** apostolica **munitam**' ('the concord of scripture, fortified by apostolic authority'): Bede, *De Templo Salomonis Liber*, *PL* 91, cols 735–808 (col. 803B); 'praedicta **auctoritate muniti**, strenuissime sunt exsecuti' ('they energetically carried it out, fortified by the aforesaid authority'): Eadmer, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, *PL* 159, cols 761–86 (col. 773A).

[42] 'Quid enim aliud auctoritas dicenda est quam capistrum?': Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturalis*, ed. by Martin Müller (Münster i. W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), p. 11.

[43] See Thomas Christensen, 'Introduction' to *Cambridge History of Western Music*, ed. by Christensen, pp. 1–23, esp. pp. 2–13; Wason, '*Musica practica*'; and Bower, 'Transmission of Ancient Music Theory', pp. 158–64.

was careful to ask his student to place confidence not in authority but in reason. In this, he exemplifies the view taken by John of Salisbury, that '*too much* reverence for the master might destroy the student's ability to think for himself'.[44] And by pointedly thinking for himself, Theinred stands as a witness to the fruits of the eleventh-century discovery of the individual.

Unfortunately, all of this represents not a stage in the history of Western musical education, but a detour, a glance at what might have been. Theinred was, apparently, completely ignored by his contemporaries and immediate successors. The points he raised were revisited in music theory only after the passage of centuries, during which time much of what he had sought to preserve had been irretrievably lost. Nevertheless, his insights, methods, and attitude towards authority are noteworthy on their own merits, and provide a revealing glimpse into the creativity of intellectual life in twelfth-century England.

[44] The phrasing is from Mia Münster-Swendsen in the following essay, citing John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 7.9, *PL* 199, cols 653D–654A.



Figure 29. Lady Grammatica, from the Royal Portal of Chartres Cathedral. Photograph by Mia Münster-Swendsen. Like several of the Northern French cathedrals of the twelfth century, the famous 'royal portal' of Chartres cathedral is embellished with sculptures representing the seven liberal arts. These symbols of scholastic learning guard the entrance to sacred space.

The Model of Scholastic Mastery in Northern Europe *c.* 970–1200

Mia Münster-Swendsen

On the west portal of the cathedral of Chartres, above representations of scribbling ancient philosophers, sits an austere female figure carved in stone. Below her scrutinizing gaze two little boys crouch, the one half naked, the other trying to hide within his hood. In her hands she holds an open book and a bunch of twigs, ready to deliver a smarting blow. Iconographic depictions of Lady Grammatica — and of the schoolteacher as well — are remarkably similar throughout the medieval period. The one appears as a strict matron, the other as a stern pedagogue, and both are brandishing the instrument of discipline as the symbol of their power. At the feet of these towering, often superhuman figures little boys are perched, some reading or reciting, some awaiting punishment, and others trying to evade it. Yet this bleak image of a stiffly hierarchical pedagogy based upon fear and coercion is contradicted if we take a closer look at the ideals and practices that were fundamental to teaching and learning in the High Middle Ages. Case studies and a variety of sources and genres (poetry, letters, chronicles, and didactic manuals) provide us with an infinitely more complex picture of the pedagogic methods employed, the relationships and emotions involved, and the intricacies of the enactment of magisterial power within, as well as beyond, the classroom. These elements constitute what I have chosen to term the 'mastery-model', signifying the fundamental social and cultural structures that sustained the educational systems before the emergence of the fully institutionalized universities of the later period.

This essay will not propose a history of origins, nor of decline. Its focus is the social practices, conveyed through written discourse, that comprise the main elements of a framework through which the early scholastic world can be examined on its own terms, rather than through the filter of later institutions. I will seek

to present some common patterns of the learned culture in this period that, due to the rising influence of the *litterati*, came to have a profound effect upon the rest of society, transforming social ideals as well as notions of power and authority.

Affectionate Strategies and Elective Affinities

In the middle of the twelfth century, during a time when the scholarly milieus were undergoing significant changes, two great educators presented their quite similar views on how the relationship between student and master, and thus the scholastic environment itself, ought to be structured. Nevertheless, what William of Conches and John of Salisbury proposed was not an educational revolution, but rather a reinforcement of a pedagogic system based on affinity and love, which was already centuries old. According to William of Conches:

> The type of person eligible for being taught should be someone who neither resists learning, nor is proud, nor considers himself to be something when he is nothing, someone who loves his teacher as his own father or even more than his father. For we ought to love him more, from whom we received greater and more worthy gifts. From our father we have received our unformed being, from our teacher [we receive] our erudite being: a greater and more worthy gift. Good teachers are, therefore, more to be loved than parents. It is not only right that teachers should be loved, but also useful, that their thoughts and words may find our favour. For if we do not love a person, we often dislike even what is good about that person and tend to shun it, while we endeavour not to imitate those we do not love.[1]

With a deliberate repeated use of metaphors of procreation and birth, John of Salisbury affirms:

> In Quintilian's book on the education of the orator, the love of teachers is placed as the seventh didactic key, according to which teachers are to be loved and honoured as parents are. For as the latter are procreators of bodies, so the former are indeed the

[1] 'Vt doceatur uero talis eligendus est, qui non sit doctrinae obstrepens nec superbus, nec uideatur aliquid esse cum nichil sit; qui magistrum ut patrem diligat, uel etiam plus quam patrem. A quo enim maiora et digniora accepimus, magis diligere debemus; a patre autem rudes esse accepimus, a magistro esse sapientes, quod maius et dignius est. Plus ergo diligendi sunt boni doctores quam parentes. Nec tantum iustum est quod diligantur doctores, sed utile ut sententiae illius et uerba nobis placeant, quia quem non diligimus, in eo saepe etiam bona nobis displicent illaque fugimus, dum studemus non imitari illos quos non diligimus': William of Conches, *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, in *Guillelmi de Conchis opera omnia*, ed. by I. Ronca, 2 vols, CCCM, 152 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997–99), I (1997), 6.27.3, p. 271.

> procreators of souls, yet not by bringing forth the substance of knowledge from themselves, but as it were by begetting knowledge in the minds of their listeners, reforming nature for the better. And this very filial piety contributes much to studies. For they listen with pleasure to those whom they love, and believe what they say, and desire to be like them; and by the effect of pious love a crowd of joyful and eager students gathers around them. When corrected, they do not get angry; praise does not make them blush; because of their zeal in studies they deserve to be held most dear themselves. For just as it is the function of teachers to teach, so it is that of the listeners to show themselves teachable. Otherwise neither will avail without the other. [. . .] Thus, eloquence cannot take root, unless he who transmits and he who receives are united in harmony.[2]

Proper, justified, and, not least, useful, the affective bond between master and student(s) occupied the centre of pedagogic thought throughout the High Middle Ages. But more than just being a didactic strategy, it signified a cultural practice which was very much *the* constituting social device that bound the school milieus together in an age that did not know the institutional edifice of the university with its statutes, legal practices, and privileges. If we are to understand how the scholastic world[3] of the tenth to twelfth centuries functioned while lacking a formalized institutional framework, we must examine the cultivation

[2] 'In libro Quintiliani de institutione oratoris, septima discentium clavis ponitur, amor docentium, quo praeceptores ut parentes amandi sunt et colendi. Sicut enim illi corporum, ita et isti quidem sunt genitores animorum, non quidem de se sapientiae propagando substantiam, sed quasi sapientiam in auditorum mentibus gignunt, in melius reformando naturam. Et haec quidem pietas, studio plurimum confert. Nam et libenter audiunt, quos amant, et dictis credunt, et eis esse similes concupiscunt, et pio faciente affectu, in ipsos coetus scholarium laeti alacresque conveniunt. Emendati non irascuntur, laudati non erubescunt, ut sint et ipsi charissimi studio merebuntur. Nam ut doctorum officium est docere, sic auditorum se praebere dociles. Alioquin neutrum sine altero sufficit [. . .] ita eloquentia coalescere nequit, nisi sociata tradentis accipientisque concordia': John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 7.14, *De septima clave discentium*, in *PL* 199, cols 385–822 (col. 670C,D). As John states, this is in accord with some of the didactic statements in Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae*; the words, though, are John's own, even though he appears to be merely quoting. Quintilian's work was much used by the high medieval pedagogues, especially as an authority against excessive use of physical disciplinary measures, as discussed by Vaughn in her essay above.

[3] I use the word 'scholastic' as a neutral adjective designating 'that which is of the schools'; thus in the context of this essay it does not refer to 'scholasticism' as a method of inquiry (in many ways a nineteenth-century construct), nor does it presuppose an opposition between 'scholastic' and 'monastic', which would be untenable before the monastic reforms of the later twelfth century. The present study includes evidence from both secular and monastic school milieus of the period, since they were both part of the same culture, used the same rhetoric, cherished the same texts, and had a shared system of knowledge based upon the *artes liberales*.

of personal bonds: how the student-master relationship was conceived, paying a special attention to the role of the *Magister*, since he was the dominating figure around whom the schools of the period evolved.

High medieval scholastic culture, while cherishing textuality, was based upon face-to-face encounters and a direct, oral transmission of knowledge. The everyday cultural practices of the schoolmen, for whom texts were essential, were indeed still primarily oral. Thus what is extant in textual form is only fragments and glimpses of this culture of presence. Letter collections are among our chief sources, and since we are sketching the outlines of a model — a social ideal so to say — we need not worry about whether these letters were actually sent, whether they reflect a 'real', private correspondence. If they were indeed exemplary and publicized, if they were used for emulation and imitation, they would in fact suit our purpose even better. Furthermore, we should not be manipulated by their rhetoric of exclusiveness to believe these letters to be purely private discourses and sentiments shielded from public gaze.

On the contrary: while pretending to be strictly confidential, intimate communications, these letters in fact belong to the sphere of public performance and the deliberate broadcasting of individual acumen. Their chosen medium was an abstruse, poetical Latin, loaded with learned allusions, ambiguities, and deliberately esoteric passages. As a bonding practice, it was an elitist discourse demarcating social boundaries, uniting the *litterati* in a textual community with shared social forms, while setting them apart from (and above) the rest of society. Central to this discourse stood the cultivation of friendship and affection, a preoccupation with inner dispositions, with individual *habitus*. Yet while constituting the central part of a deliberate, performative pedagogical strategy, it does not therefore follow that the displayed affections were not also genuinely felt. The element of performance does not revoke the sincerity of the emotional content.

Where amatory — and even occasionally erotic — discourse between masters and students is concerned, there is no major shift in vocabulary or voice between the Carolingian age and the period with which we are here concerned, except for the number of sources. The epistolary exchange ascribed to Notker, the great teacher of St Gall in the late ninth century, and his students Waldo and Salomo is replete with an intense display of emotions. The teacher courts his students, and his teaching is thoroughly infused with *eros*: he demands that the students repay his love with poetry and prose, and when not heeded, he reacts like an abandoned lover with a mixture of tearful anguish and threats:

> If you do not come voluntarily, you will be brought back against your will, and vows fulfilled under too much pressure are devoid of rewards. If you are not willing to

> return, the banks of the raging Rhine will not hinder me, nor the shores of Lake Constance with its harsh bellowing. Neither will the roaring of the Iller detain me, nor the soaring mountain ranges. I will pursue you, fugitive, and tie you down with cords. An ever sleepless watchman, overcoming both night and day, I taught you, forgetful of drink as well as food, I put everything aside for you to attend to your requests. But now I am spurned, another man has your love.[4]

Similarly, the students yearn for the presence of their master; their pens and parchments call out for him.[5]

Froumund (*c.* 960–1006/12) held the position as *scholasticus* of the monastery of Tegernsee for most of his life. He saw his students become abbots and, like Gerbert in Reims, he had continual epistolary exchanges with friends at other centres of learning such as Augsburg, Würzburg, and Ratisbon, acquiring books on various subjects of the liberal arts and buying favours and friendships for books. The so-called 'Froumund codex'[6] is a rich but little-used source, containing the master's letters (including those he wrote for various abbots) mixed with elaborate showpieces of poetry, often with an autobiographical content. Through his literary self-presentation, Froumund stands out as an amiable, self-conscious, and facetious man who enjoyed teaching, and who nourished intense relationships with chosen students.[7] And like his contemporaries, he would

[4] 'Si non sponte venis, huc invitus retraheris, / Et mercede carent vota coacta nimis. / Ni remeare velis, non obstat ripa furentis / Rheni vel Potami litus acerba fremens. / Non Hilerae fremitus revocat neque saltus inhorrens: / Persequar et temet fune ligabo, fugax. / Pervigil excubitor, superans noctemque diemque, / Te docui, potus immemor atque cibi. / Omnia deposui tibimet parendo petenti; / At nunc spernor ego, alter amatur homo': no. 49 in *Collectio Sangallensis*, ed. by Karl Zeumer in MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hannover: Hahn, 1886), p. 431. This emphasis on love demonstrates Notker's use of erotics as a vehicle for instruction.

[5] 'O species cari cur non ades alma magistri? / O quid fecisti? cur nobis nota fuisti? / O cur rara venis? cur nos tardissime cernis? / Iam petimus, venias, doctrinam sepius addas, / Ut tibi centiplices Dominus velit addere grates. / Te revocant pennae, cupiunt membrana videre!' ('O nurturing presence of our beloved master, why are you not here? O what have you done? Why were you ever made our familiar? O why do you come so infrequently? Why do you put us last? Now we beg you, come, and frequently impart your learning, so that the Lord will wish to bestow upon you a hundredfold graces. Our pens call you back! Our parchments long to see you!'): Notker, no. 49a in *Collectio Sangallensis*, p. 431.

[6] Published as Froumund, *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, ed. by K. Strecker, MGH Epistolae selectae, 3 (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1925).

[7] Froumund's love of teaching and of his students is expressed in no. 32, *Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, pp. 80–83.

present these personal bonds as sublime, exalting, and highly emotional experiences. Shared moments with his disciple Pabo he describes as a feast, their intimacy rivalling (and surpassing) Candlemas in splendour:

> Hail fellow brother, always sweet to me in love. You are sweeter to me than the taste of honey in my mouth. The liquid does not know how to love, but love sweetens and enters into the heart, uniting in a bond the breast of one to another. You are dearer to me than everyone else [. . .] You are better, noble boy, because of your illustrious ancestry, wherefore I willingly am your slave above all else.[8]

Froumund exalts his student, and engages in wordplay with power-reversals. The master's submissive pose, though, should not be taken at face value. I will contend that Froumund's (and his colleagues') adoption of this stance ought to be viewed as a deliberate strategy to draw a high-born student into the master's circle of power. While appearing to reverse it, the submissive role taken by the superior actually reveals the hierarchy between the two while displaying the master's magnanimity and mastery of the situation. In the hierarchy between student and master, power is not unilateral; the master's power is not total, but dependent upon the reciprocity of the relationship. Each needs the other to fulfil his role, their interdependency marking the horizontality which also characterizes the relationship.

In a letter to his student Ellinger, Froumund speaks in the magisterial tone; he chastises Ellinger for his laziness, exhorts him to show more diligence in his studies, and urges him to write more poems.[9] If he does not comply, he is simply not worthy of the master's affection. In Ellinger's letter, included later in the codex, the student adopts the pose of almost total submission and contrition for having disappointed his most beloved master.[10] Through his contemplation of intimate affection, he is brought back to the right path. This little model shows a teacher using affection — and the threat of its withdrawal — as disciplinary measures, instead of mere physical punishment or threats thereof.

[8] 'Salve confrater mihi dulcis semper amore; / Dulcior es mihi tu quam mellis gustus in ore. / Nescit amare liquor, sed amor dulcescit et ad cor/ Intrat et alterius coniungit foedere pectus. / Omnibus exceptis mihi tu sis carior istis [. . .] Tu melior, generose puer, quia sanguine maior, / Quapropter tibi sum servus super omnia promptus': Froumund, 'Ad Pabonem Ypapanti facti', no. 7, in *Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, p. 28. The poem plays with the association of luminosity and the feast of Candlemas, stressing the enlightening qualities of the intimacy between the master and his disciple.

[9] Froumund, no. 27, in *Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, pp. 72–73.

[10] Froumund, *Ep.* 98, in *Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, p. 102.

If one looks at the various sources from the eleventh century that provide us with glimpses of daily pedagogical practice, one is struck by the widespread preoccupation with finding better and subtler ways of imposing discipline than the use of physical punishment. There was a feeling that the regime of the rod was disgraceful and brutalizing for both parties. It broke the student's character, despite the fact that the aim of education consisted in the refinement of character; excessive scourging produced hard hearts instead of supple material. Furthermore, it reduced the master's authority; it became a sign of weakness, of not having obtained the full mastery, of which the student's docility and admiration were proofs. In his didactic collection of verse examples and moral *dicta*, the *Fecunda ratis* (written around 1020), Egbert of Liège gives several exempla concerning malfunctioning schools ruled by irate teachers in which floggings were more frequent than lectures.[11] The punishments meted out by incompetent masters — and incompetence was definitely seen as the cause of an immoderate applying of the birch — are a recurrent topic in literature, not least when they function as a contrast to teachers who mastered a discipline based upon *amor*. A famous example is found in Eadmer's *Vita* of Anselm, in which the protagonist is visited at Bec by an unnamed abbot seeking advice because of the persistent disciplinary troubles with the boys at his school:

> 'What, I ask you, is to be done with them? They are incorrigible ruffians. We never give over beating them day and night, and they only get worse and worse.' Anselm replied with astonishment: 'You never give over beating them? And what are they like when they grow up?' 'Stupid brutes,' he said. To which Anselm retorted, 'You have spent your energies in rearing them to good purpose: from men you have reared beasts.' 'But what can we do about it?' he said; 'We use every means to force them to get better, but without success.' 'You force them? Now tell me, my lord abbot, if you plant a tree-shoot in your garden, and straightway shut it in on every side so that it has no place to put out its branches, what kind of tree will you have after years when you let it out of its confinement?' 'A useless one, certainly, with its branches all twisted and knotted.' 'And whose fault would this be, except your own for shutting it in so unnaturally? Without doubt, this is what you do with your boys.'[12]

[11] Egbertus Leodiensis, *Fecunda Ratis*, ed. by E. Voigt, in vol. III, *CETEDOC* database (*CLCLT* 5), Sententia, 891–92 (*De inmitibus magistris et pigris*).

[12] '"Quid obsecro fiet de istis? Perversi sunt, et incorrigibiles. Die et nocte non cessamus eos verberantes, et semper fiunt sibi ipsis deteriores." Ad quae miratus Anselmus, "Non cessatis" inquit "eos verberare? Et cum adulti sunt quales sunt?" "Hebetes" inquit "et bestiales." At ille, "Quam bono omine nutrimentum vestrum expendistis; de hominibus bestias nutrivistis." "Et nos" ait "quid possumus inde? Modis omnibus constringimus eos ut proficiant, et nihil proficimus." "Constringitis? Dic quaeso michi domine abba, si plantam arboris in horto

The almost Socratic dialogue (itself an example of Anselm's teaching style) with the rather slow-witted abbot continues, and Anselm delves into a metaphor likening the art of pedagogy to that of a master artisan:

> Now consider this. You wish to form them in good habits by blows and chastisement alone. Have you ever seen a goldsmith form his leaves of gold and silver into a beautiful figure with blows alone? I think not. How then does he work? In order to mould his leaf into a suitable form he now presses it and strikes it gently with his tool, and now even more gently raises it with careful pressure and gives it shape. So if you want your boys to be adorned with good habits, you too, besides the pressure of blows, must apply the encouragement and help of fatherly sympathy and gentleness.[13]

This is not a total renunciation of the use of physical pressure, but it must be applied according to the correct measure. It ought to be balanced by a loving care. Eadmer uses this example to stress Anselm's gentleness and 'discretion' towards all. The key word is *discretio*, which carries several meanings. In this case, Anselm's 'discretion' is a result of his ability to act according to the golden mean, and to navigate safely between two extremes: a laxity that is merely indifference, and a severity that produces indifference. Both are destructive to discipline.

While he was a teacher, Otloh of St Emmeram subjected a student to a severe thrashing, but suffered terribly from a bad conscience afterwards. He came to the conclusion that, because 'a harsh and public chastisement does not educate' one should opt instead for 'some gentle and discrete punishment'.[14] If one could not avoid punishing a student, one should at least do it in private. The humiliation of physical punishment was to be shielded from the public gaze; in the subtler versions of medieval pedagogy, such as this one, it was a matter between the master and the student alone.

tuo plantares, et mox illam omni ex parte ita concluderes ut ramos suos nullatenus extendere posset, cum eam post annos excluderes, qualis arbor inde prodiret?" "Profecto inutilis, incurvis ramis et perplexis." "Et hoc ex cujus culpa procederet nisi tua, qui eam immoderate conclusisti? Certe hoc facitis de pueris vestris"': *VA*, p. 37.

[13] 'Sed esto. Solis eos percussionibus et flagellis ad mores bonos vultis informare. Vidistis unquam aurificem ex lammina auri vel argenti solis percussionibus imaginem speciosam formasse? Non puto. Quid tunc? Quatinus aptam formam ex lammina formet, nunc eam suo instrumento leniter premit et percutit, nunc discreto levamine lenius levat et format. Sic et vos si pueros vestros cupitis ornatis moribus esse, necesse est ut cum depressionibus verberum, impendatis eis paternae pietatis et mansuetudinis levamen atque subsidium': *VA*, p. 38.

[14] 'Minime edificaret correptio aspera et manifesta [. . .] aliqua correptione leni ac secreta': Otloh von St Emmeram, *Liber Visionum*, ed. by Paul Gerhard Schmidt, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 13 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1989), p. 53.

At some time in the latter half of the tenth century, a boy from Bohemia named Woyzech was sent to the cathedral school of Magdeburg to receive his education at one of the foremost centres of learning in the Ottonian empire. He later changed his name, taking that of his first master, Adalbert. At this time the school of Magdeburg was dominated by Master Ohtrich and owed much of its fame to him. Yet while Bruno of Querfurt, the biographer of Adalbert/Woyzech, commends Ohtrich as being 'like another Cicero', the description of Adalbert's schooling under this master shows Ohtrich as a rather harsh disciplinarian and not a man to inspire affection.[15] This is the Ohtrich who engaged Gerbert of Reims in disputation on the division of philosophy at the royal court in Ravenna in 981, and, according to Richer, was soundly defeated by the master of Reims.[16] The rivalry between the two masters, it seems, rested upon more than intellectual divergences. One can read between the lines in Richer's testimony that Ohtrich envied Gerbert his successes, both in science and in the classroom. He even sent a student to spy on the techniques employed in Reims.[17] Master Ohtrich bears a certain resemblance to the unnamed abbot in Eadmer's exemplum on Anselmian pedagogy. His teaching methods were unsophisticated compared to those of Gerbert, and he was apparently not able to use the cultivation of friendship and love as a pedagogic technique. While his name would enter into the written accounts, preserving his fame and the rumour of his great learning, he was never a man remembered with fondness. Ohtrich died from an unknown disease in Benevento in 981, shortly after the unsuccessful meeting with Gerbert; and according to Thietmar of Merseburg (who is not without malice), he died in a state of bitterness and contrition.[18]

[15] 'Quasi Cicero unus': Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, ed. by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), p. 597.

[16] Richer gives a full report of the disputation as well as the opinions of the interlocutors in Richer von Saint-Rémi, *Historiae*, ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH SS, 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 2000), 3.55–65, pp. 198–205.

[17] Richer, *Historiae*, 3.56, p. 199.

[18] Theitmar of Merseberg, *Chronicon*, ed. by R. Holtzmann and W. Trillmich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaf, 1970), 3.14–15, pp. 101–103. While Thietmar commends Ohtrich's learning, he nevertheless presents him as a rather unsympathetic and power-hungry man. He desired the archiepiscopal seat of Magdeburg, but, according to Thietmar, Adalbert would do anything to hinder Ohtrich from obtaining *his* see; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, p. 98. We do not have letters or writings from Ohtrich himself, and thus, despite his fame among contemporaries and his political involvement at the Ottonian court, he remains rather elusive, like so many other masters of the period.

Where brutal masters are concerned, the frequently cited case of the education of Guibert of Nogent is somewhat more complex. According to Guibert, his master was not a particularly gifted man; his psychological acumen, like his learning, was rather lacking. The *saevus amor* that this pedagogue felt for his pupil manifested itself in frequent beatings whose severity, when eventually discovered, shocked and grieved Guibert's mother. While the master, in Guibert's view, was clearly not up to the task, he himself, in his own self-representation, was in fact a model student — but a bitter and unhappy one. He did not rebel against the regimen:

> As for me, though I was somewhat clumsy and shy for my age, I had such a liking for him — striped as my poor little skin might have been by his many whiplashes — that I obeyed him, not out of fear (as would generally be the case in relationships like these) but out of some curious feeling of love, which overwhelmed my whole being and made me forget all his harshness. When my mother and my tutor saw that I was paying both of them their due respect, they put me to the test several times to see which of the two I would give my preference to in a specific circumstance.[19]

Read with the tenets of child psychology in mind, this competition between the master and the mother is heart-rendingly horrible.

Young Guibert's situation differs in this respect from the other cases included in this essay, inasmuch as his education at this early stage was conducted by a private tutor, at home, and not in a school or classroom. Normally, parents would not have felt that the teacher of their child was interfering with or threatening family affections. Due to the old system of child-oblation, and in cases where boys were sent far away to be educated, the communities of both monastery and cathedral school would necessarily have to take on the full parental function. The boys would be bound to their masters throughout their crucial formative years and in many cases would know these masters better and more intimately than they did their own biological parents. Still, the development of an elated affective discourse does not follow necessarily from such a situation.

[19] 'Mihi vero, licet pro aetate hebeti atque pusiolo, tanta penes eum vicissitudo amoris incesserat, licet gratis multotiens cuticulam meam multis vibicibus persulcaret, ut non metu, qui in aequevis assolet, sed nescio quo medullitus insito amore, ei, totius ejus asperitatis oblitus, obsequerer. Multis certe saepius experimentis idem me magister materque tentarunt, cum debitum me sibi utrobique timorem aeque redhibere viderent, utrum sub unius rei imperio alterutrum praeferre praesumerem': Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie* [*Monodies*], ed. by Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981) 1, 6, p. 38. Using the translation by Paul J. Archambault, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 19.

The love relationship between teacher and pupil was a deliberately cultivated construct to further an education whose ultimate goal was more than a transference of literary and scientific skills; it sought to recreate the whole man, perfect in both learning and conduct.[20] The highly affective mode was bound to its contemporary social and educational context; it was not, and did not signify, an 'anthropological constant'.[21] The medieval writers themselves stressed that this culturally produced student-master relationship was in fact stronger and more intense than the 'natural' love between parents and their children or between carnal lovers. As more exalting, it was supposed to surpass these forms, not least because it was unencumbered by the carnality that characterized the latter.

Gerbert of Reims, offering his students 'the sweet fruits of the liberal arts', made some tablets to use in the teaching of rhetoric 'because of his love' for them,[22] as he told his friend Bernard. At the end of the same letter he commended his former student Constantine of Fleury as a great and erudite scholar 'joined most closely to me in friendship'.[23] Gerbert dedicated his *Libellus de numerorum divisione* to Constantine, designating him as his 'sweet solace in his labour'.[24] In Gerbert's correspondence, many letters touch upon the subject of love and friendship among the schoolmen and involve exchanges of favours,

[20] For the system of education comprised by the twofold scheme of *litterae* and *mores*, see the study by C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

[21] I do not wholly agree with C. Stephen Jaeger's contention, in *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 59, that 'The love relationship between student and teacher is [. . .] more like a primal relation in which the potential for powerful love is inherent as an anthropological constant, as in the relationship of parent and child, lover and beloved'. What Jaeger otherwise has shown is that it is a result of deliberate cultivation and meticulous social and pedagogical practices.

[22] 'Disciplinarum liberalium suaves fructus [. . .] ob amorem': Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Ep.* 92, in *Correspondance*, ed. by Pierre Riché and J. P. Callu, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), I, 218–20. Bernard is addressed twice as 'dulcissime frater' in the letter.

[23] 'Michique in amicicia conjunctissimus': Gerbert, *Ep.* 92, in *Correspondance*, I, 220.

[24] 'Dulce solamen laborum': Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Libellus de numerorum divisione*, in *PL* 139, cols 85–92 (col. 85C). See also 'Drei Gedichte aus Frankreich', ed. by E. Dümmler, *Neues Archiv*, 2 (1877), 222–23. Among the three poems edited by Dümmler is a prolonged eulogy of Constantine written in an extremely esoteric Latin replete with graecisms. William of Malmesbury described Constantine as one of Gerbert's 'conphilosophos et studiorum sotios': *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, OMT (Oxford: Calrendon Press, 1998–99), I (1998), 282.

books — and students. In Gerbert's letters we are offered, for the first time, a deeper insight into a large learned network covering both French and German areas, a truly transnational scholarly elite bound together by personal friendships, loyalties, and affections. Central to this network were the often life-long relationships between masters and students.

Around 985, in the midst of political turmoil, Gerbert wrote to his former master Raymond asking for guidance and support, even though the latter was not politically empowered in any particular way. Gerbert recalled Raymond's loving teaching with fondness,[25] informed him of the state of political affairs in Italy and at the imperial court, and complained that the turmoil of politics disturbed the quiet of philosophizing. In 995, the man who had recently been raised to the archiepiscopacy would still retain the pose of the disciple when addressing the master. And he produced a fine tribute to Raymond: 'The student's victory is the master's glory.'[26]

It does make sense to talk about a particular kind of *scholastic* friendship, a model that differed from the later monastic one (especially cultivated among the twelfth-century Cistercians) not so much in the nature of its discourse, its vocabulary, and its literary forms, as in its raison d'être as a vehicle for educational and career-promoting purposes. In a letter from Hildesheim of the first half of the eleventh century, a master writes to his student celebrating their *amor specialis*. He compares the 'vulgar, corporeal celebrations' of Easter to the 'unique feast day and intellectual celebration' of their fellowship and mutual love.[27] Moving on to the more businesslike, he then reports that he, like a faithful servant, is using his whole network and seeking everywhere among the French, the Normans and the Germans for people who will help further the student's career.[28]

[25] 'Quanto amore vestri teneamur, noverunt Latini ac barbari, qui sunt participes fructus nostris laboris' ('In what great love we were held by you, Latins and Barbarians have learned, who are now sharing in the fruits of our labours'): Gerbert, *Ep.* 45, in *Correspondance*, I, 110.

[26] 'Discipuli victoria magistri est gloria': Gerbert, *Ep.* 194, in *Correspondance*, II, 516.

[27] 'Crassam palpabilem et corporalem festivitatem [. . .] unicam festivam et intellectualem celebritatem': *Ep.* 36, in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. by Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 5 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1950), p. 76.

[28] 'Ego enim sicut servus fidelis tibi domno meo — hec, que magis proprie dicere nequeo, dicam — domno meo inquam fideli, ex simpliciter magistris servissimos preparavi. Aliis autem quam plurimis Francigenis Normannis et Theutonicis ita bonum et gloriosum te commendavi, ut tibi nondum viso, tantum fama noto, fidelia sua servitia benigne polliceantur' ('Indeed, like a servant faithful to you, my lord — I cannot phrase these things more appropriately — I say

Fulbert of Chartres, former disciple of the aforementioned Gerbert, wrote a poem about himself in which he stated that, though he was of insignificant lineage, he had nonetheless excelled in the world of learning and high politics because, he observed, Christ had granted him understanding masters.[29] Fulbert himself became the centre of a large circle of devoted students coming from all over Northern Europe, many of whom achieved eminent careers.[30] Scattered among Fulbert's letters we find the remnants of his correspondence with Hildegar, his chosen and most intimate disciple. These sources cast some light on a difficult yet affectionate relationship which began during Hildegar's student years and which continued throughout his adult career until Fulbert's death in 1028/29. Hildegar followed closely in Fulbert's footsteps, becoming a teacher and conducting various businesses as secretary and treasurer for his master. Yet the power distribution between the master and disciple remained unaltered: Hildegar kept his submissive pose as the master's 'little pupil'. In a letter of 1023/25, he writes to Fulbert confessing his proneness to anger and asking for forgiveness:

> So while I welcome the resentment of others against me, I especially beg you to be zealous in rebuking me. I confess with a simplicity that is free of flattery that I have enjoined my inmost soul to love you above all mortals; for by the care of God's grace I have been subject to your teaching since my childhood, nor to anyone have I ever revealed so many secrets of my conscience, for though to others I have revealed some, to you I have revealed all. With the face of my mind streaming with tears, I beg you not to neglect your care of me by withholding the alms of chastisement and

to my faithful lord, I have prepared for you in teachers most willing servants. I have commended you as good and glorious to so many Franks and Normans and Germans that they are kindly offering faithful services to you, not having yet seen you, knowing you only by reputation'): *Ep.* 36, in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, p. 77. He also warns the student not to continue his studies in Beauvais because a certain Master Heribert, who is both insane and a fraud, teaches there.

[29] 'Te de pauperibus natum suscepit alendum / Christus, et immeritum sic enutriuit et auxit, / Vt collata tibi miretur munera mundus. / Nam puero faciles prouidit adesse magistros' ('You, a child of poor parents, Christ took up to raise as his own; and undeserving as you were, he so nourished and blessed you that the world marvels at the gifts he bestowed. For he saw to it that as a boy you had understanding masters'): Fulbert of Chartres, *Ad se ipsum de se ipso*, no. 133, in *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by F. Behrends, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 242–43.

[30] Fulbert's role as a teacher is mentioned in several contemporary sources, among them the *Chronicon Centulense* (Chronicle of St Riquier) by Hariulf (published as *Vita V. Angelranni*, in *PL* 141, cols 1405–22 (col. 1406A)), which casts some light on the content of Fulbert's teaching as comprising an equal share of letters and *mores*.

> admonition that I need. For if (which the mercy of heaven forbid) you should do this, no blow will ever strike me as cruelly as seeing myself so much neglected by you. In asking you to correct my little writing, I bid you farewell, you who are my highest hope for counsel after God. Amen.[31]

Fulbert's pose in his letters to Hildegar is simply magisterial. While he admits to nourishing strong feelings for Hildegar — he clearly misses him when he is away and rebukes him sternly for not keeping his appointment[32] — Fulbert uses most of the writing space to lecture him on various topics, from methods of teaching and doctrinal issues to politics and everyday occurrences. When Hildegar had been promoted master of the school of Saint-Hilaire (under the control of Chartres), the old master wrote to him in this manner:

> Your absence often reminds me how important was your presence. But I take comfort in the thought that I have transferred your services to one who is worthy to receive them and prepared to reward us both, for I hope that some small portion of your reward for your good works (God granting there be any) may also fall to me.[33]

After an extended lecture on the symbolic meanings of the clerical garb, he continues: 'I also wish to remind you when you are construing Donatus not to mix in any unseemly levity by way of amusement, but keep everything serious. Remember that you are on exhibit, and take care.'[34] This last sentence is not just

[31] 'Quare cum alios mihi succensere cupiam, te potissimum ut id sedulo agas oro. Te enim super cunctos mortales, quod simplicitas adulacionis ignara fatetur, animae meae uisceribus diligendum mandaui. Sum namque diuina procurante gratia disciplinae tuae uernaculus a puero; nec ulli unquam tanta meae conscientiae secreta, nam aliis quaedam, tibi omnia detexi. Quaeso ergo te perfusus lacrimis faciem mentis, ne mei cura posthabita necessariam castigationis uel admonitionis elemosinam mihi subtrahas. Nam si hoc (auertat autem divina pietas) egeris, nunquam ita merore frangar ullius incommodi, quam cum me uidero sic a te neglectum iri. Rogatus opusculum meum corrigere, uale summa spes consilii mei post Deum. Amen': Fulbert of Chartres, *Ep.* 95, *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. 172–75.

[32] Fulbert of Chartres, *Ep.* 118, *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, p. 212 (after 6 June 1026). Fulbert died 10 April 1028/29.

[33] 'Absencia tua sepe commemoror quam necessarius eras presens. Sed hoc me consolor, quod obsequia tua tali delegauerim qui sit dignus recipere, et utrique remunerare paratus. Spero enim ut michi quoque de tuis benemeritis (siqua Deo dante fuerint) aliqua tecum mercedis porciuncula cedat': Fulbert of Chartres, *Ep.* 88, *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. 156–57.

[34] 'Moneo aetiam ut cum Donatum construxeris, nihil admisceas ineptae leuitatis ut sit causa ioci, sed omnia seria. Spectaculum enim factus es, caue': Fulbert of Chartres, *Ep.* 88, *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. 158–59.

a warning concerning the immediate classroom situation. It also invokes the magisterial gaze of Fulbert, who, while not present in body, is clearly constantly present in the mind's eye of the disciple. While Hildegar longed for Fulbert's physical presence, the master had in fact become, in a psychological manner, omnipresent. In his own conscience, a disciple like Hildegar would hear not his own but his master's voice.

Seeking to become one with him, Hildegar imitated Fulbert in every way: in 'his looks, his tone of voice, and in his manners'.[35] 'Reforming nature for the better',[36] medieval education sought to achieve a total reshaping of the personality through the means of a self-fashioning, taking its model from the paradigmatic master. The masters, describing their function through the metaphors of seal-stamps and craftsmanship, 'impressed themselves' upon the students, who concurrently internalized the magisterial ideal. Hildegar's letters, along with several writings of Fulbert's students, testify to the existence of a close circle, one in which friendships were cultivated and a lifelong network was established.

In his long alphabetical poem, Adelman of Liège, Bishop of Brescia from 1059 to 1061, sings the praises of the individual members of the 'Academy' of Chartres. The poem is drenched in nostalgia recalling the harmony and concord that bound them all together under Fulbert's fatherly direction. Adelman's intention, though, is not merely to exalt Fulbert and his disciples; the poem is cast as a funeral eulogy since all these illustrious men were now dead and gone. With 'bestial fierceness bitter death rages among the circle of scholars like a pestilential enemy',[37] and through it, a whole community is swept away. The same Adelman wrote to Berengar of Tours, his former fellow student, who due to his part in the Eucharist controversy was now considered a renegade. Invoking the image of the master and recalling their old intimacy, Adelman sought to bring Berengar back on the right path. He bade him remember their conversations together at

[35] 'Vultu, voce, moribus': Adelman of Liège, *Armonicae facultatis*, printed as appendix 1, in L. C. MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1957), pp. 49–50: The mention of Hildegar immediately follows the description of Fulbert.

[36] See the quote from John of Salisbury above, note 2.

[37] 'Bestiali feritate mors acerba seviens / In scolares conjurata velut hostis pestilens': Adelman of Liège, *Armonicae facultatis*, p. 49. There are two extant versions of the poem, the original from the 1030s and one from the late 1040s that adds more of Fulbert's disciples to the list of the deceased, notably his other 'crown-prince' Sigo.

Chartres, under the guidance of Fulbert, who was for them an Aristotle.[38] It seems that Adelman even attached his panegyrical poem to the letter, to which Berengar retorted, with reference to Horace: 'A ridiculous mouse is born!'[39]

The Berengar controversy is too complicated to be retold here, but I suspect that it concerned more than strictly doctrinal issues.[40] As would be the case with similar procedures against famous intellectuals, especially during the twelfth century, the culprit was a controversial figure who was seen to have transgressed against the unwritten rules and norms of the scholastic milieu, especially with regard to the veneration of magisterial authority. Like Abelard, Berengar was his own master; he considered himself a self-made man, and no one should lecture him on anything. In his treatise against Berengar, Guitmund of Aversa contends that the original cause of Berengar's error (and near apostasy) lay in his *habitus*, which was already notorious in his student days: he did not pay heed to his master, nor respect his co-students; intolerably pompous and feigning loftiness and subtlety, he invented a series of idiosyncratic mannerisms, such as burying himself deep in his hood, pretending to be in profound meditation, speaking in a highly affected voice, and giving the appearance of being a real master of arts.[41] Berengar had mocked Fulbert's example, and the magisterial figure itself, by his

[38] Adelman addresses Berengar thus: 'Dilecto in Christo fratri conscolastico atque conlactaneo' ('To my beloved brother in Christ, schoolmate, and foster-brother'), and continues: 'Conlactaneum te meum vocavi propter dulcissimum illud contubernium, quod tecum adolescentulo, ipse ego maiusculus, in achademia Carnotensi sub nostro illo venerabili Socrate iocundissime duxi' ('I called you my foster-brother because of that sweetest cohabitation [or 'comradeship'], which I delighted in, with you an adolescent, and I myself but a little older, at the academy of Chartres under that venerable Socrates of ours'): Adelman of Liège, in *Serta Mediaevalia: Textus varii saeculorum X–XIII in unum collecti*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 171 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 182.

[39] 'Nascitur ridiculus mus!' Published, with commentary, in *Berengarius Turonensis: eine Sammlung ihn betreffender Briefe*, ed. by H. Sudendorf (Hamburg: F. and A. Perthes, 1850), p. 8. Refers to a dictum of Horace: 'parturient montes nascetur ridiculus mus' ('The mountains will be in labour, but a ridiculous mouse shall be born'): Horace, *Ars poetica*, in *Epistles*, ed. by Roland Mayer and Niall Rudd, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989–94), II (1989), 63, line 139.

[40] For a lucid treatment of the doctrinal issues, and especially of Lanfranc's involvement, see Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 63–97. Berengar's views on transubstantiation and the sacrament of the Eucharist were not completely new. Similar doubts had been raised before without causing a public outcry of this scale.

[41] Guitmund of Aversa, *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in Eucharistia*, *PL* 149, cols 1427–94 (col. 1428A,B).

absurd behaviour. He was not only a heretic but also a threat to the unity, peace, and self-conception of a learned world based upon its veneration and respect for the masters, and this is what Berengar's adversaries, many of whom were his former friends, sought to defend.

Since the question of power distribution is hugely important for understanding the function and form of these discourses of friendship, we must distinguish between two kinds of relations: that between masters,[42] or between students (as equals), and that between master and student. The latter differs markedly from the former inasmuch as it is usually the superior, namely the master, who takes the initiative. The master's language is superlative and often erotically charged; the play with extreme emotional vocabulary is his prerogative. The student-interlocutor usually writes as if to a venerated parent or superior, stressing the virtues of humility and subjugation, whereas the master's discourse is that of a lover exalting his beloved. The student cannot exalt himself, except indirectly through the praise of his master. Likewise, the master's laudatory exclamations concerning the student's virtues are also a sort of self-praise. It is the master who retains the privilege of a more fluid discourse, in which he is able to keep his authority while momentarily playing with humbling postures (as jealous lover, as 'servant', or even as 'slave'). The master can choose to present himself as the student's fellow, he can draw him up to his own level, but it is only on the surface that the power distribution appears to be altered. The student's answer to the master's praise of him is unanimously that of presenting himself as even more humble (and docile). Such subtle power-reversals end up underscoring the master's mastery, intellectually and socially. Tampering with the power distribution between unequals, however, is a risky business. It requires both interlocutors to be well aware of the rules and limits of this social form. Should misunderstandings arise, they would primarily be on the student's part, and would thus show that he was not erudite, intellectually and socially.

Mastering the discourse of affection was a test for both parties in which exquisite social and verbal dexterity, the full range of skills taught in the schools, were put on display: through these discourses, the student could demonstrate that he had understood the master's teachings, and the master would vaunt his

[42] See, for example, the correspondence between the masters Ragimbold of Cologne and Radulph of Liège from the first quarter of the eleventh century. These letters show the two as equals writing to each other in the amatory mode on mathematics, geometry, and other learned subjects. See especially nos. 5 and 6 in the edition by P. Tannery and M. Clerval, *Une correspondance d'écolâtres du XI^e siècle* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1900).

mastery in a manner that was literal in both senses of the term. While I contend that the rationale of these discourses of friendship and affection has to do with power, I do not intend to dismiss the heady emotional content as being just a wrapping for a cynical utilitarian strategy, or mere topical verbiage. Genuine love was expected of both participants, and the relationship between them should be based upon *amor* rather than *timor*.

The letter-collection from Worms is a treasure-trove of information about such friendships,[43] and two letters among them actually rehearse the problem of a relationship gone awry. The friendship between student 'A' and Wolzo the schoolmaster is on the verge of dissolving because, as the student argues, Wolzo has not lived up to his part as a master, but has shown himself disloyal and uncaring in listening to the student's calumniators (what the slander is about is not mentioned).

> If I am not mistaken, I have heard you say that no matter what you have done in this case, if you had not been master and not been obliged to press such cases, you would not have stood against me, but rather for me. What can I say against that? Let that ancient sophist speak for me: 'Opportunity has a forelock in front, after that it is bald.' I would rather that you had a firmer defence, for this one is most easily disproved by truth. How could it be appropriate for you to use your *magisterium* to reject behind your back that sister who is patient, who is benign, who does not act wrongly?[44]

While there is a hint that the master has even abused his power — his *magisterium* — the main charge concerns the love and affection on which the relationship ought to be based.

[43] *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, ed. by Walther Bulst, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 3 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1981). The collection exists in only one manuscript in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Palatina latin 930. It contains sixty-four letters copied without any apparent system (a third of these display a school context) together with six texts with didactic content. Much of the material concerns the period of Azecho's episcopacy of Worms (1025–44), but since hands as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have made annotations, the manuscript appears to have been in use for a long time. As for its function, it was most likely used for didactic purposes, as is the case with so many of the German letter-collections from the period.

[44] 'Audivi enim nisi fallor vos dicere, quicquid in hoc fecistis, si magister non essetis et talia zelare non deberetis, non contra me, sed pro me potius staretis. Quid contradicam? Dicat pro me ille antiquus sophista: *fronte capillata, post hec occasio calva*. Mallem vos firmiorem habere defensionem, quia hec facillime retunditur per veritatem. Numquid oportuit vos per magisterium vestrum sororem illam, que paciens est, benigna est, que non agit perperam, post tergum reicere?': *Ep.* 60, *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 102. The quote, as Bulst notes, is from *Disticha Catonis* 2.26. The last sentence contains a paraphrase of the qualities that St Paul attributes to *caritas* in 1 Cor. 13. 4 — the 'sister', therefore, is *caritas*.

> For its sake I certainly loved you, I loved you out of true love, henceforth I shall love you only out of fear. For I fear lest, when the water is troubled, you should come and throw me into the pond not of healing but of distress. Let it suffice that you alone read this, o friend, for I have not invited any other to see it. I wrote this for you alone, not in order to reproach you, nor to teach you what to do — for I would be a fool should I wish to teach Minerva letters — but in order that you may know that I am neither mute, nor deaf, nor so foolish or stupid that, clothed in the shreds of some knowledge, I should not know where someone stings me, and not understand where someone smears me.[45]

This is a model case showing how one ought to deal with conflicts in these particular reciprocal yet unequal relationships. Significantly, the letter from the student is followed by another letter of his, offering reconciliation. There is no written answer from Wolzo. In his second letter, the anonymous student elaborates upon the virtues and rules of 'perfect love', a love that is both perfecting as a medium to enhance virtuous *mores*, and perfect in itself in its unworldliness. He addresses Master Wolzo as 'not so much his former, but rather his future beloved'.[46] The letter is in fact a lecture in which the student displays an excellent mastery of the discourse of friendship with sparkling rhetoric and adept combinations of pagan and Christian sources on the subject. He is clearly lecturing the master, despite his refusal, in the earlier letter, to 'teach Minerva'. Without rebuking the master for his lapses, he presents an exalted model of *amor perfectus*, forming the true foundation of real friendship and dispelling fear.[47] Thus reconciled, the student exhorts his master:

[45] 'Propter eam nimirum vos dilexi, amavi vos propter verum amorem, posthac amabo vos propter timorem. Timeo enim ne, cum commota sit aqua, vos veniatis et me in piscinam non sanationis sed confusionis mittatis. Sufficiant hec vobis o amice soli legenda, non enim alium invitavi ad hec videnda. Vobis tantum hec scripsi, non ut vos corriperem aut que facienda essent docerem, stultus namque essem si Minervam litteras docere vellem, sed ut sciatis me nec mutum nec surdum nec ita stultum vel excordem esse, quin alicuius scientie filo me vestiente sapiam, ubi quis me pungit, et intellegam, ubi me quis ungit': *Ep.* 60, *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 102.

[46] 'Non tam in preterito dilecto quam in futuro diligendo': *Ep.* 61, *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 103.

[47] 'Et de timore excludendo: *timor*, ait, *non est in caritate, sed perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem, quoniam timor poenam habet, qui autem timet, non est perfectus in caritate*' ('And about eliminating fear he said, "There is no fear in love, for perfect love dispels fear, because fear brings torment. He who fears is not made perfect in love"'): *Ep.* 61, *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 103, referencing 1 John 4. 18.

> let us mutually love each other, not with a childish love, not with a short-lived affection, not with pretence, for indeed an apparent enemy is less dangerous than a false friend, but let us love each other with all the strength of love, with all constancy, with total perfection, in open nakedness, if I may say so. Far from us be a boyish love, for we have transcended the age of boys, inasmuch as it is their habit to love for a while, suddenly fly into a rage, love and get angry over and again, and do not remain constant in either state.[48]

And he finally ends the long letter, resuming the humble posture expected from a student:

> Finally, in order that in our reconciliation I may return to speak again and again about love: let us love each other without fear, without fraud or deceit. I will love you because of God and because of your lovable virtues, likewise you shall love me because of God, not because of my virtues, for there is none in me, but because of the outline and expectation of virtue.[49]

Cultivation of friendship was a useful social strategy to solve conflict, not least in a highly individualized and competitive scholarly milieu that was often plagued by quarrels and rivalries. It should be noted that many of the affectionate correspondences originated against the background of a conflict and used the discourse of friendship and love to set the relationship and the social roles straight. The bonds created, cast in the language of love, seem reminiscent of 'feudal' bonds of lordship and vassalage. These bonds of love similarly secured the maintenance of order and the ordered distribution of power among persons whose association was both vertically structured, according to social hierarchies such as age, responsibilities, and position, and marked by a horizontal interdependency and reciprocity of interests.

[48] 'Amemus nos invicem nullo puerili amore, nulla momentanea caritate, nulla simulatione, minus enim periculosus est apertus inimicus quam simulatus amicus, sed diligamus nos omni amoris fortitudine, omni constantia, tota perfectione, aperta si dicam nuditate. Puerilis absit a nobis dilectio, puerorum namque transcendimus etatem, eorum siquidem est ad tempus amare, statim irasci, iterum amare et irasci et neutra in re stabiles permanere': *Ep.* 61, *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 105.

[49] 'Ad ultimum ut in nostra reconciliatione iterum et iterum repetam de dilectione, diligamus nos sine timore, sine fuco vel fallacia. Diligam vos propter Deum et propter vestram amabilem virtutem, vos itidem diligite me propter Deum, non propter virtutem, que nulla in me est, propter virtutis tamen umbram et opinionem': *Ep.* 61, *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 105.

The students of the cathedral school of Würzburg in the 1030s considered themselves 'bound together in one community by common vow',[50] under their revered master Pernolf. They clearly saw themselves as constituting a congregation, a *familia*, united through mutual love, loyalty, and respect, and through a shared veneration of the master. The long letter praising the Würzburg school was prompted by a slanderous poem from the school of Worms which bore especially upon the person of Master Pernolf and stressed the superiority of the master of Worms. To defend themselves, the Würzburgers painted a rosy picture of their master as a paragon of learning and a *cultor virtutis*, 'cultivator of virtue', whose loving kindness drew students into his circle.[51] Instead of presenting a sheer vituperative counter-attack, they rebuked the Worms school for being 'a sower of wrath and a destroyer of friendships',[52] and urged them to consider a reconciliation through which friendship between the two schools would flourish.[53] Love was called upon to heal the wounds inflicted by rash words, jealousy, and deceitful backstabbing.

Among the exempla in Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* is a prolonged dialogue between a master and a pupil in which the evils and allures of women are rehearsed.[54] The pupil delights in the abundance of misogynistic discourse that flows forth from the master, and his appetite for these edifying erotic stories eventually appears to be insatiable; finally the master, highly irritated, delves into a story about a king who was deceived by his eloquent storyteller. What interests us here is the pupil's objection that the relationship between king and storyteller bears no comparison to that between a master and his pupil, as he contends: 'The storyteller did not love his king as much as you love me, because he wanted to take advantage of the king with his storytelling, but you have no desire to do that

[50] The text is published as an appendix to *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, pp. 119–27: 'communi voto sibi iungimur uni', p. 120, line 46. The vow is not a monastic one, Würzburg being a cathedral school.

[51] *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 120, line 27. Fulbert of Chartres carries a similar designation (*Virtutum cultor*) in one of his epitaphs in *PL* 141, col. 166A.

[52] 'Sator irarum, destructor amicitiarum': *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, p. 122, line 105. The rebuke is directed to the author of the slanderous poem.

[53] For an excellent and more in-depth analysis of this rarely used and quite complicated source, see Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 64–74.

[54] Petrus Alfonsi, *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi*, ed. by A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1911), pp. 14–19.

to me, who am your pupil.'[55] The affective bond makes the difference, and according to the student-interlocutor, it guarantees that education does not become seduction. This naïveté seems odd, given that seduction was indeed a problem looming large in these relationships: the love of masters might go over the limit and become a barrier to the student's intellectual advancement, or in the worst-case scenario, turn into a sexual affair.[56] Given the overt, erotically charged language often employed by the masters, many historians indeed have been tempted to suggest a more widespread sexual content to such relationships. But when medieval educators wrote about the dangers of inappropriate love of masters, it was not the sexual but the educational implications that they warned against. In his *Carmen* to his son Astrolabe, Peter Abelard, speaking both as father and master, warned him, 'Do not give your faith to the words of a beloved master, and let not a teacher detain you with his love'.[57] Yet later he urged him, 'Be mindful of the words and deeds of good teachers; desire for them should always burn in your breast'.[58] Similarly, John of Salisbury contended that *too much* reverence for the master might destroy the student's ability to think for himself:

> For how can he be in doubt, who swears by the words of his master and pays attention not to what is said but to him who says it? [. . .] He who is captivated by his teacher's opinion is prepared to dispute even about goat's wool, regarding as incredible anything that he is ignorant of, and is deaf to reason. For him, all that his teacher has brought forth is authentic and sacrosanct.[59]

[55] 'Neque regem adeo dilexit fabulator sicut et tu me diligis. Voluit enim fabulis suis eum aliquantum seducere, tu uero me discipulum minime': Petrus Alfonsi, *Die Disciplina Clericalis*, p. 18, following the translation, *The 'Disciplina Clericalis' of Petrus Alfonsi*, ed. and trans. by Eberhard Hermes, trans. into English by P. R. Quarrie (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 123.

[56] While such cases undoubtedly happened, we should not confuse the masters' use of an 'erotics of instruction' with overt sexual advances.

[57] 'Nec tibi dilecti iures in uerba magistri / nec te detineat doctor amore suo': Peter Abelard, *Carmen ad Astralabium*, ed. by J. M. A. Rubingh-Bosscher (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit, 1987), p. 107, lines 9–10.

[58] 'Dictis doctorum, factis intende bonorum; / ferueat hac semper pectus auaricia': Peter Abelard, *Carmen ad Astralabium*, p. 107, lines 25–26.

[59] 'Quid enim dubitat, qui juratus in verba magistri, non quid, sed a quo quid dicatur attendit? [. . .] Paratus est de lana caprina contendere, credens inopinabile, si quid ignotum, auribus ejus insonuit, nec rationibus acquiescit, quem doctoris captivavit opinio. Quidquid enim ille protulit, authenticum et sacrosanctum est': John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 7.9, *PL* 199, cols 653D–654A. Note that both John and Abelard, as cited above, use the verb 'iuro'.



Figure 30. Disputing Prophets of Bamberg, from the interior of Bamberg Cathedral. Photograph by Mia Münster-Swendsen. In the interior of the cathedral of Bamberg, sculptures from the 1220s depict Old Testament prophets engaged in lively disputation with each other in a fashion that makes them look more like contemporary schoolmen than sages of old. Bamberg was the home of one of Germany's most prominent schools during the High Middle Ages.

While the masters should retain their role as paragons, they should not therefore make their students into mere *epigons*. The student should wish to emulate his teacher, even to become like him, as if another self. But in the end he would also become his equal: a master himself.

Teaching and learning demanded a certain *habitus* of both student and master, which was guaranteed by self-discipline established through the cultivation of *mores*. Recounting the advice of Bernard of Chartres, Hugh of Saint-Victor gives the following description of the right attitude of the student:

> A certain wise man, when asked about the method and form of study, declared: 'A humble mind, eagerness to inquire, a quiet life, silent scrutiny, poverty, a foreign soil. These, for many, unlock the hidden places of learning.' He had heard, I should judge, the saying: 'Morals equip learning.' Therefore he joined rules for living to rules for study, in order that the student might know both the standard of his life and the nature of his study. Learning stained by a shameless life is not praiseworthy.[60]

Likewise, Gerbert of Reims testified to the cultivation of individual *habitus* as being intrinsic to studies, and especially necessary if one were involved in public affairs.[61] Elegant *mores*, such as gentleness (*mansuetudo*), moderation (*moderamen*), wit (*facetia*), pleasantness (*suavitas*), affability (*affabilitas*), and, above all, magnanimity (*magnanimitas* in its literal sense as 'greatness of soul'), were also integral to the exercise of scholastic *magisterium*.[62]

[60] 'Sapiens quidam cum de modo et forma discendi interrogaretur: "Mens," inquit, "humilis, studium quaerendi, vita quieta, scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena, haec reserare solent multis obscura legendi." audierat, puto, quod dictum est: "Mores ornant scientiam," et ideo praeceptis legendi, praecepta quoque vivendi, adiungit, ut et modum vitae suae et studii sui rationem lector agnoscat. illaudabilis est scientia quam vita maculat impudica': Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon*, published as *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon*, ed. by Charles Henry Buttimer (Washington DC: Catholic University Press, 1939), 3.12, p. 61. Translation by J. Taylor in *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 94.

[61] 'Cumque ratio morum, dicendique ratio a philosophia non separentur, cum studio bene vivendi semper conjuncxi, studium bene dicendi, quamvis solum bene vivere praestantius sit eo quod est bene dicere, curisque regiminis absoluto, alterum satis sit sine altero. At nobis in r[e] p[ublica] occupatis utraque necessaria' ('Since Philosophy does not distinguish between the discipline of *mores* and the art of eloquence, I have always conjoined the study of speaking well with the study of living rightly, although in itself living rightly is more excellent than that which is speaking well. For him who is exempt from governmental task, the first suffices without the other. But for us, occupied by affairs of state, both are necessary'): Gerbert d'Aurillac, *Ep.* 44, in *Correspondance*, I, 106–08.

[62] For an analysis and discussion of the elements and terminology of *curialitas*/*urbanitas*/*elegantia morum*, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the*

William of Conches's *Dragmaticon* opens with a discussion on magisterial authority and the problems it presents: a master's true authority rests upon his learning as well as his well-balanced inner disposition, that is, his ability to pass judgment and to ascertain the right mean; true masters, he contends, are those who are not easily deceived.[63] Near the end of the treatise, when he revisits the theme of teaching, he presents the good teacher as one who has taken up his office not for temporal gain but for love of learning, one who will not withhold anything from his student, and one who will accept it if the student should eventually surpass him.[64]

Peter Abelard's clashes with his teachers William of Champeaux and Anselm of Laon are well known through his own recounting of them in his autobiography, the *Historia calamitatum*.[65] Yet history seemed to repeat itself when Abelard was himself challenged by a young man named Goswin. The incident as it is recorded in Goswin's *vita*, despite its obvious tendency to glorify the main protagonist, gives us a glimpse of *Magister* Peter Abelard as seen from the outside. Despite the warnings of his own master Joscelin, Goswin had chosen to confront Abelard at the height of his popularity and power, while he was in midst of teaching:

> When he [Goswin] arrived at the place of battle, that is when he entered his [Abelard's] school, he found him occupied by lecturing, inculcating his novelties to his students. But just as the newcomer began to speak, Abelard lowered his ruthless gaze upon him, and as he considered himself to have been a bellicose man since his adolescence, and viewed the other as a puerile upstart, he despised him in his heart, no less powerfully than the spurious Philistine hated holy David. He [Abelard] was of pale yet handsome appearance, but lacked fleshiness, and his stature was not impressive. As the arrogant man was forced to respond, he assailed him vehemently and said threateningly 'See that you shut up, and beware not to disturb my lecture!' The other, who had not come to keep silent, persevered steadfastly. As his adversary showed no respect for him, and did not listen to his speech, [Abelard] considered it undignified for such a teacher to respond to such a little youth. He judged him by his looks, which appeared con-

Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), especially pp. 32–48 and 127–75.

[63] William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, 1.1.1, pp. 3–4.

[64] William of Conches, *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, 6.27.1–3, pp. 270–71; and see above, note 1.

[65] Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, in *PL* 178, cols 113–82 (cols 115–26). The work exists in several English translations. See also M. T. Clanchy's discussion of Abelard's confrontational strategy in his *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (London: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 72–75.

> temptible to him on account of his age, but he did not perceive the keen intelligence of his [Goswin's] mind. But his students, who knew the young man well, told him that he ought not to refuse to respond. He was an acute debater and could rely upon a deep learning, and it was not undignified to engage in a dispute with a man of that kind.[66]

According to his biographer, a victorious Goswin later descended Mont Sainte-Geneviève in triumph and was greeted by an enthusiastic crowd of his co-students. What was at stake in conflicts such as this was the teacher's *magisterium* itself. Abelard had attained his not by posing as a submissive student but by confronting his teachers, exposing their weaknesses and vanquishing them intellectually. Eventually the tables would turn as two former students of Anselm of Laon took their revenge by securing Abelard's condemnation at the council of Soissons in 1121. Likewise, Abelard clearly lacked a strong network of supporters at the council of Sens in 1140, where he was condemned for a second time. Disregarding the importance of retaining friendships and affiliations might have a fatal outcome, especially if one excelled at making powerful enemies.

From whatever angle we look at such controversies, they reveal the fragility of the master's elevated position. They also throw light upon an inherent problem in the magisterial model: its rigidity when it came to exceptionally gifted students who did in fact surpass the master's skills. In such cases friendship and the virtue of magnanimity might, again, come in handy as a useful means to secure reciprocity while maintaining hierarchy. Yet the burden of mending the broken link and restoring amity was usually placed on the shoulders of the student. In a letter to his 'beloved master and lord', Guy of Bazoches takes the responsibility for having caused a rupture in their friendship. He confesses, 'I

[66] 'Cum venisset igitur ad locum certaminis, id est scholam ejus introisset, reperit eum legentem, et scholaribus suis suas inculcantem novitates. Statim autem ut loqui orsus est qui advenerat, ille torvos in eum deflexit obtutus; et cum se sciret virum ab adolescentia bellatorem, illum autem videret pubescere incipientem, despexit eum in corde suo, forte non multo minus quam David sanctum spurius Philistaeus. Erat enim albus quidem et decorus aspectu, sed exilis corpulentiae et staturae non sublimis. Cumque superbus ille ad respondendum cogeretur, et impugnans eum vehementer immineret: "Vide, inquit, ut sileas, et cave ne perturbes meae seriem lectionis." Ille qui non ad silendum venerat, acriter insistebat; cum adversarius e contra eum habens despectui, non attenderet ad sermones oris ejus, indignum judicans a doctore tanto tantillo juveni responderi. Judicabat secundum faciem, quae pro aetate sibi contemptibilis apparebat; sed cor perspicaciter intelligens non attendebat. Cum autem ei diceretur a scholasticis suis, qui juvenculum satis noverant, ut non omitteret respondere, esse illum disputatorem acutum et multum ei scientiae suffragari; non esse indecens cum ejusmodi subire negotium disputandi': *Ex vita b. Gosuini Aquicinctensis abbatis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1738–1904), XIV (1877), 443.

have sinned [. . .] as a son against his father, as a retainer against his lord, and as a disciple against his master', and that, 'I am no longer worthy to be called your son'.[67]

The student's answer to the master's demands often appears in the shape of a confession.[68] The master was, in many cases, also the student's confessor in religious matters, and there is a similarity between medieval teaching and the confessional in their didactic forms. In the *Vita* of Burchard of Worms, a student asks Burchard to receive his confession, which the master has taught to be a necessary procedure if the student was to avoid losing himself in 'the labyrinth of doubt' when studying the sacred scriptures. To receive the master's teaching, guidance, and correction, the student is obliged to confess his disturbances, doubts, and errors. He must examine his conscience, disclose his secret ruminations, expose himself and his error.[69] In the case of Burchard's student, the medium is not oral but written, and the function is both spiritual and educational at the same time. While teaching in the classroom was an oral, face-to-face encounter, the master demanded a written communication as well. He would instigate such an exchange with his letters of love, praise, or rebuke, as we saw in the case of Froumund and Ellinger.

The cultivation of these affective relationships was more than merely an ingenious pedagogic strategy. They were the glue that held together the widespread, intricate, but fragile structure of the pre-institutionalized intellectual world. Therefore there was much more at stake when these relationships were threatened or destroyed, whether it happened through conflict or because of the master's demise. Such deprivation might well mean that one lost touch with the network, with the scholarly circles, and if one was a student, suffered the loss of the status conferred by the association with a great master.

[67] 'Peccaui [. . .] filius in patrem, alumpnus in dominum, discipulus in magistrum [. . .] non sum dignus vocari filius tuus': Guy of Bazoches, *Ep.* 2, *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochis*, ed. by H. Adolfsson (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1969), p. 5.

[68] On the similarities between the confessional and teaching, see R. Copeland and M. C. Woods, 'Classroom and Confession', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by D. Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 376–408. Though it focuses on the later Middle Ages, the analysis would appear to apply to the earlier period as well.

[69] *Vita Burchardi Episcopi*, ed. by G. H. Waitz in MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 840–43.

Preserving Presence

> Below this stone lies Peter, he whom the world proclaimed a Homer, yet now this star dwells among the stars. He was the sun of the French, but soon destiny carried him away. Thus the realm of Gaul mourns her sun. He knew what no one had known, conquering the most skilled, teaching the arts without a teacher. The eleventh day of the kalends of May seized Peter and robbed the court of Logic of its king. It suffices for this sepulchre: Peter Abelard lies here, to whom alone was revealed everything that can be known.[70]

The death of Peter Abelard was recorded in several chronicles[71] and obituaries,[72] often together with a short biographical sketch, and usually repeating the last paragraph of the epitaph. Stones, landscapes, and whole countries were made to weep for the deceased. Inanimate objects would mourn the passing of great figures when writers, known and anonymous, strove to prepare the path of immortality for the new aspirants to the long lineage of dead and famous men of letters. Mundane fame and glory and the survival of individual teaching was at stake, and it is interesting to note that the deceased *magistri* were usually carried to 'the constellations', to some diffuse sort of celestial Elysium, rather than to the Christian heaven. Actually, many of the epitaphs seem quite devoid of the expected Christian imagery, while they are overloaded with allusions to Antiquity and its pagan gods and heroes.

At a time when the individual school owed its distinction to the trademark of its foremost master's name, disciples and followers were deeply conscious that

[70] 'Petrus in hac petra latitat, quem mundus Homerum / Clamabat, sed jam sidera sidus habent. / Sol erat his Gallis, sed eum jam fata tulerunt, / Ergo caret regio Gallica sole suo / Ille sciens quidquid fuit nulli scibile, vicit / Artifices, artes absque docente docens. / Undecimae Maii Petrum rapuere Calendae, / Privantes logicis atria rege suo. / Est satis, in tumolo PETRUS hic jacet ABEILLARDUS / Cui soli patuit scibile quidquid erat': Epitaph for Peter Abelard as found in a manuscript described as a breviary of the Paraclete, published as *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, ed. Johann Alberti Fabricius, 6 vols (Florence: Thomae Baracchi et F., 1734–46; new edn, 1858), v, 223.

[71] *The Chronicon Turonense* (Tours), the *Chronicon* of William Godell (of Limoges), the *Chronicon Mauriniacensis* (Morigny), the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis* (Sens), the *Chronicon* of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (Chalons-sur-Marne), the *Chronologia* of Robert of Auxerre, the *Chronicon* of Richard of Poitiers (Cluny), and of course in the *Chronicon* of St Gildas-de-Rhuys — the Breton monastery where Abelard was abbot.

[72] Abelard's death on 21 April 1142 is recorded in the obituaries of the Paraclete, of Argenteuil, of Saint-Denis, of the Priory of Longpont (Sens), of Lagny (Sens), and of Notre Dame-aux-Nonnains in Troyes.

though a master might have enjoyed great fame and popularity while he lived and taught, he (and thus the glory of his school, that is, his disciples) would easily drift into oblivion when his personal charismatic faculties, signified by metaphors of light and luminosity, were no longer immediately present. In epitaphs, writers sought to capture the essentials of a person in an attempt to battle mortality and commemorate a presence now lost. Though a prolific writer of flowery epitaphs for various people, Baudry of Bourgueil wrote only one longer *planctus*, to his former master Hubert (of whom we know practically nothing). Baudry felt that his joy and his self-esteem were bound to the person of the master, and with his demise, he feared that both might be lost. The deep sorrow displayed in this remarkable poem, given here in its entirety, rings genuine. Baudry stresses their close personal bond, and only secondarily Hubert's learning.

Doctorum speculum, doctor amande,
Maiorum titulis aequiperande,
O Huberte tuis uir uenerande,
Immolo perpetuas exequiis lacrimas.
Mors tua dura michi!
Ablato michi te, quae michi gaudia?
Gaudendi subiit deficientia;
Lugendi datur, heu! pessima copia
Et perpes quaerimonia.
Ve mea uita michi!
Hubertus, patriae cura paterna,
Magduni cecidit clara lucerna;
Ex quo mesta michi lux hodierna.
Vix aliquando scio quid faciens facio.
Mors tua dura michi!
Vrit nostra dolor corda medullitus,
Vix rarus recreat uiscera spiritus:
Huberti gemitus causa fit exitus,
Hinc est creber anhelitus.
Ve mea uita michi!
Quo nos alter ego, sed magis idem,
Hoc uniuit amor foedere pridem,
Nec sorti modo mors subdit eidem.
Esset obisse michi gloria teque frui.
Mors tua dura michi!
Ex quo cum lacrimis plus ego lugeo,
Hinc plus ipse — quod est res noua — gaudeo;
Quanto displicuit res lacrimarum,
Tanto triste placet pondus earum.

Mirror for teachers, beloved master,
Equal to the greatest men of the past,
Oh Hubert, venerated man,
To your funeral I offer endless tears.
How your death makes me suffer!
Deprived of you, how shall I find happiness?
The joy within me falters;
I surrender to mourning, alas! Abundance of ruin
And eternal complaint.
Woe unto my life!
Hubert, paternal care of the *patria*,
The bright lantern of Meung is put out;
Because of that even daylight seems gloomy to me.
I scarcely know what I am doing.
How your death makes me suffer!
The pain burns in the innermost chambers of my breast,
The faltering spirit can hardly reinvigorate the heart:
The demise of Hubert is the cause of this grief;
From this comes incessant groaning.
Woe unto my life!
Like my other self, or rather, like the same man,
Previously love united us in a pact,
Now, death has not submitted us to the same fate.
It would be my glory to die and to enjoy you.
How your death makes me suffer!
The more I mourn with tears over this,
The more I rejoice over it — what a new thing!

As much as the reason for tears displeases me,
So much does their weight sadly please me.

Displicet atque placet illud: utrumque placet.	This thing displeases as well as pleases: each of them pleases.
Ve mea uita michi!	Woe unto my life!
Singultus peperit carmina lubrica;	Violent sobbing engendered a sweet song;
Haut arcent elegos claustra poetica.	By no means is the elegy hindered by the confines of poetical metre.
Te, doctor, replicat nostra querela:	My lament commemorates you, o master:
Hunc morbum leuiat nulla medela.	There is no remedy to cure this distress.
Mors michi te, tibi me compositura placet.	May it please death to unite you to me, me to you.
Mors, rogo, sera, ueni.[73]	Tardy Death, I implore you, come!

It is his own feelings, rather than the person of the master, that are central to Baudry's poem. This is far from the ordinary panegyrical mode, since what Baudry seeks to express is the disciple's grief and distress at the loss of an intimacy through which he himself had been formed. What was dead and gone was indeed a part of himself — his other half, his *second self*.

Feelings of being left behind, of bereavement and abandonment, are recurrent in many letters of students (or former students) to their masters (such as the previously discussed correspondence between Hildegar and Fulbert). A moping Anselm would write to Lanfranc, who was drowning in administrative duties, and bemoan the inappropriate formality with which his former teacher now addressed him: 'asking I complain, and complaining I enquire, why you never write back to me, but instead address your letter to some "lord and father" of yours whom I know not'.[74] When Abelard suddenly abandoned the students who had followed him to the oratory of the Paraclete in the late 1120s, one among them, Hilary of Orléans, gave voice to their frustration and grief — their *oratorium* had been turned into a *ploratorium*.[75] The Old French refrain of the Latin poem is a hurtful rebuke: 'Tort avers nos li mestre!' — 'The master is doing us wrong!' In the only extant manuscript, the sentence is emphasized with a heavy red line.[76] The death of the master was inevitable but dreadful. It left the

[73] Baudri de Bourgueil, Carmen 74, '*De magistro suo planctus*', in *Poèmes*, 2 vols, ed. by Jean-Yves Tilliette (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998–2002), I (1998), 68–69. In my translation I have tried to be faithful to the content, but it does not give due credit to the poetical quality.

[74] 'Quaerendo queror et querendo quaero cur mihi numquam rescribatis, sed nescio cui vestro "domino et patri" prima litterarum notato': Anselm, *Ep.* 57, in Schmitt III (1946), 171–72.

[75] *Hilarii Aurelianensis Versus et ludi, epistolae*, ed. by W. Bulst and M. L. Bulst-Thiele, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).

[76] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 11331. On the red line, see Fuller's edition of the poems of Hilary: *Hilarii versus et ludi*, ed. by J. B. Fuller (New York: H. Holt, 1929), p. 5.

devoted student in a mental vacuum in which there was no longer one to whom to appeal, no one from whom to seek advice, no one to whom you could send your 'little writings' for correction.

The *Vita* of Burchard of Worms opens with a remarkable prologue in which the author, a disciple of Burchard's, converses with a friend of his.[77] Burchard's death has left our author in a state of distress in which he feels he has not only lost his revered master, but even his own identity:

> But whenever the name of that most blessed man comes to my mind, so often do tears and groaning afflict me. Then, my beloved, there is nothing left for me but shedding tears and emitting sighs incessantly and thinking over these wretched cogitations silently with myself. Who was I? Or who am I? And what shall I become? I am the one who was nourished tenderly and miserably abandoned, placed in toil and tribulation, the most worthless of all, of lowest birth, of sinful parentage, unknown to all but nevertheless conscious of myself.[78]

Deprived of the object of his love and aspirations, the student needs to reinvent himself as a subject, he must find his feet, and eventually attain mastery himself, embodying those same qualities that made him desire and want to emulate an ideal now lost.

In his masterly study on the high medieval cathedral-school culture, C. Stephen Jaeger contends that this culture, which strove to retain an ideal combining learning (*litterae*) and civilized manners (*mores*), was seriously challenged during the twelfth century and eventually suffered its demise with the coming of a new type of master, a new intellectual approach (specialization, scholasticism), and new institutions.[79] Thus he interprets many of the sources as voices forming the

[77] The author may be Ebbo, later *scholasticus* of Worms, and his friend may be Walter of Speyer, Bishop of Speyer 1004–27. The *Vita* was composed shortly after Burchard's death in 1025.

[78] 'Sed quoties illius beatissimi mentio mihi occurrit, toties fletus gemitusque me affligit. Nihil mihi tunc est, dilecte, nisi lacrimas et suspiria incessanter effundere, hasque miserabiles cogitationes tacite mecum volvere: Quis fui, aut quis sum, vel quis ero? Ego sum ille misericorditer nutritus et miserabiliter derelictus, in labore et aerumna constitutus et pene omnium vilissimus, infimi generis, parentelae peccatricis, cunctis incognitus, sed tamen mihi conscius': *Vita Burchardi*, p. 831.

[79] Discussing thirteenth-century developments in the light of Jaeger's theses is beyond the scope of this essay, but I doubt that the shift was as radical as Jaeger suggests. As he sees a writer like Alan of Lille as a representative of the 'old learning', it brings him to state that Alan was somehow out of touch with the new trends in the scholastic milieus of his time (Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 288). This rings oddly if we bear in mind that Alan's didactic texts, especially

swan song of a dying, charismatic culture. In his words, the participants 'would not have sought textual preservation if they had not been threatened with extinction'.[80] Nevertheless, the letters expressing the ideals of this culture were, in my opinion, not written merely to preserve it; rather, they were central to its enactment. These written forms were not an attempt to fossilize an oral culture, but part of its educational strategy and social practice. And, as I argued above, the act of preservation, which was indeed the rationale behind the extended panegyrics and epitaphs for famous individuals, sought the preservation not of a 'culture' but of an individual presence.

Because writings should preserve individual traits and make present for the mind's eye what would otherwise be lost to the world,[81] the style of letters, of histories and chronicles, and even of administrative documents turned towards narrative descriptions embellished with a rhetoric that differed from the concrete, unadorned style of the earlier charters and annals.[82] To secure a charismatic presence, texts themselves would not only refer to but also strive to embody this presence; they came to possess the same metaphysical, illuminating qualities as the persons they sought to describe and immortalize.

Teaching the World

> Those who will be learned shall shine as the splendour of the firmament, and those who teach justice to the many will shine like the stars in eternity. But you, O Daniel,

the *Anticlaudianus*, enjoyed an enormous popularity in the following centuries, whose *magistri* gave it a central place in their curricula.

[80] Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p. 279.

[81] Stressing the immortalizing power of historical writing, medieval authors often contend that without writers to record golden deeds and examples, even the most powerful and influential men would be forgotten in a few generations. For example, 'FORTIUM quidem virorum nulla foret notio, / Si periti litterarum torpuissent otio; / Defuisset exemplorum aurea memoria, / Nisi eos propalasset aliqua hystoria' ('Of courageous men nothing would have been known, if writers had languished in slothfulness. The golden memory of the examples would have disappeared if some book of history had not made them known'): Benzo of Alba, *Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV.*, ed. by Hans Seyffert, MGH SSRG in usum scholarum, 65 (Hannover: Hahn, 1996), p. 90. Such statements seek to remind rulers and patrons of the importance of the *litterati* and are only a thin veil for their power claims.

[82] This, of course, is not the sole explanation for the remarkable shift in the style of writing that appears in the sources around the millennium.

> cease with words and seal the book, ever to the time of the end. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.[83]

This Old Testament quote was indeed prophetic — and it fitted neatly with the self-image of the schoolmen as teachers — not only to a gathering of boys, but to society itself. Lanfranc,[84] Fulbert of Chartres, and other great *magistri* were teachers in more than one way; their advice as educators and peacemakers was sought by rulers and prelates alike, who acknowledged their *magisterium* in politics as well as learning. To 'teach justice to the many' meant building an order that also lay at the heart of the culture of the schools. The instigator was not a monolithic Church, inasmuch as the proponents of this new order could be found among the *litterati* on both sides in the Investiture Controversy. These men contended that society should be bound together as a harmonious whole by *caritas* — by reciprocal exchange of obligations between the members of different social groups. Tendencies towards domination through mere violence should be quelled and peace established by an administration based upon Ciceronian ideals,[85] stressing friendship and coherence, securing the common good by written testimony and law.

As educators, scholastic masters made the *potentes* embrace a culture and a set of values that were in many ways foreign to them. Recounting the childhood of Henry I, who came to carry the revealing epithet 'Beauclerc', William of

[83] 'Qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti; et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates. Tu autem, Daniel, claude sermones, et signa librum usque ad tempus statutum; plurimi pertransibunt, et multiplex erit scientia': Daniel 12. 3–4. The two Daniel plays of the twelfth century, the *Historia de Daniel representanda* of Hilary of Orléans and the anonymous *Danielis Ludus* of Beauvais, both explore the Old Testament scene of the Prophet Daniel at the royal court. Yet the setting is also meant to represent the contemporary courts with their different kinds of courtiers, their squabbles and backstabbing. Written for and performed in school milieus, they rehearse the troubles of learned men in political careers, with Daniel as the ideal learned courtier who can interpret writings and signs and whose abilities as counsellor makes him famous throughout the realm, but who incurs hatred from the other members of the court, who see their positions threatened.

[84] See *Vita Lanfranci*, *PL* 150, cols 29–58 (col. 39B).

[85] As Benzo of Alba declared at an imperial council: 'Multi quidem nobiles et sapientes viri morantur in curia domini mei, qui Ciceronicis amministrationibus valuissent sedare commotiones imperii' ('Many noble and learned men are dwelling at my lord's court, who through Ciceronian administrations would have been able to calm the empire's disturbances'): Benzo of Alba, *Sieben Bücher*, pp. 202–04.

Malmesbury described how Henry, 'as a youth equipped himself by education to realize his royal hopes, and used even in his father's hearing to make play with the proverb "an unlettered king is a crowned ass"'.[86] When the *magistri* wrote to the powerful, they did not relinquish their mastery and cultural superiority. That it was possible to retain such a stance, even when faced with kings and emperors, suggests that their special position was accepted, that their values and ideals had merged with (and transformed) the ideas of rulership. From this point of view, the long process of *translatio imperii* — closely connected to the *translatio studii* — instigated by the Carolingians and furthered by the courtier-clerics of the Ottonian and Salian emperors, had become an immense success at whose centre lay an important re-evaluation of social values and ideals.

At the nucleus of the episcopal and scholastic network of the German Empire, the Archbishop of Cologne, Bruno, had transformed his episcopal court into a training camp for the prelates and politicians of the Ottonian realm, gathering around him savants from all over Europe (including Greece).[87] The portrait we get from Ruotger is not so much of an archprelate, as that of an educator and man of letters.[88] While Bruno came from the highest reaches of the aristocracy (he was Otto II's brother), his real magnitude, according to his biographer, consisted in his learning and greatness of soul, through which he surpassed all the other members of his family, dead and living.

Rahewin, who continued his master Otto of Freising's work on the *Gesta Frederici*, included an epitaph of his beloved teacher, in which he was preoccupied more with Otto as *magister* and man of letters than with his episcopacy and involvement in imperial politics. Otto's nobility and greatness consisted in his mastery of learning and *mores*, not in his lineage.[89] Panegyrics such as these should be taken seriously as expressing a redefinition of *nobilitas* as a virtue cultivated through education. Legitimate power and authority, according to the

[86] 'Pueritiam ad spem regni litteris muniebat, subinde, patre quoque audiente, iactitare prouerbium solitus "rex illiteratus, asinus coronatus"': William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, I, 710–11. It is not particularly important whether he actually said it, but that, to his contemporaries, it was credible that he should have done so.

[87] Several of Bruno's disciples became bishops or archbishops. Among them Dietrich of Metz, Henry of Trier, Egbert of Trier, Gerhard of Toul, Wicfred of Verdun, Ebracher of Liège, Adalbert of Metz, and Tetdo of Cambrai.

[88] *Ruotgeri Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed. by I. Ott, MGH SSRG, n.s., 10 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1951), pp. 5–9.

[89] *Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici*, ed. by Franz-Joseph Schmale (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1974), 4.14, pp. 542–46.

litterati, derived from personal qualities and merits, from an inner *habitus*, comprising mastery of letters and self-mastery, that shone through the surface of bodily signs: gestures, expressions, and comportment.

In 1070 Lanfranc, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was visiting the papal court in Rome. Alexander II, himself a former student of Lanfranc, rose before him and 'proclaimed, "We haved showed the honour which to you, not as archbishop but as teacher, [. . .] we owe"'.[90] The school of Bec had been built upon Lanfranc's European-wide reputation; it was due to his presence and the magnetism of his *persona* that scholars and students from all over Latin Christendom flowed into the school of the Norman abbey, and to honour him, powerful laymen donated lands to Bec.[91] A master such as Lanfranc was like a magnetic force, drawing people and power into his circle. Like the school of Fulbert, whose great bonfire spewed forth many little sparks to enlighten the world,[92] Lanfranc's and Anselm's Bec emitted a steady stream of prelates and politicians embracing the whole of Latin Europe.

Thus, the history of high medieval education is also the social history of the rise of a privileged elite that was not based upon inheritance or economic wealth but upon meticulously cultivated qualities: mastery of knowledge, loyalties, affiliations, and connections established through the schools. This scholastic network, together with the edifice of the close master-disciple relationship, erected a structure that transcended regional and political geographies and even time itself.[93]

[90] '"Honorem," inquit "exhibuimus, non quem archiepiscopatui tuo, sed quem magistro [. . .] debuimus"': Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. by Martin Rule, RS (London: Longman, 1884), p. 11. William of Malmesbury, probably inspired by Eadmer, also records the incident: 'professus, hanc venerationem non se illius archiepiscopatui, sed magisterio litterarum deferre' ('he professed that he offered this veneration not to his achiepiscopacy, but to his mastery of letters'): *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS (London: Longman, 1870), p. 65.

[91] Gilbert Crispin, *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster*, ed. by A. S. Abulafia and G. R. Evans, The British Academy (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 197.

[92] The metaphor is employed by Adelman of Liège in his poem '*Armonicae facultatis*', in MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education*, appendix 1, p. 49: 'Gurges altus ut in amnes scinditur multifidos, Ut in plures fundit ignis se minores radios, Sic insignes propagasti per diversa plurimos' ('Like the fire [or sun] scatters itself in several minor sparks [or rays], Thus you spread numerous distinguished men through many lands').

[93] Hence the recounting of 'generations' of masters and students, and catalogues of 'illustrious men' seeking to construct and preserve a genealogy of men of learning.

Differing from other actors in medieval society, the schoolmen relied upon a wide transnational, horizontal network guaranteed by friendships, by common experiences and way of life, by upholding the memories of great forerunners, and by a self-assuring notion of belonging to the elect, those who had a mission to educate and transform mankind and society. Through their writings and actions, the *magistri* thrust their ideals, their values, and their system of knowledge, as well as their social forms, upon the public world and its political systems. They saw themselves as educators and facilitators in a grand civilizing project, one which would extend their *magisterium* far beyond the classrooms of medieval Europe.

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